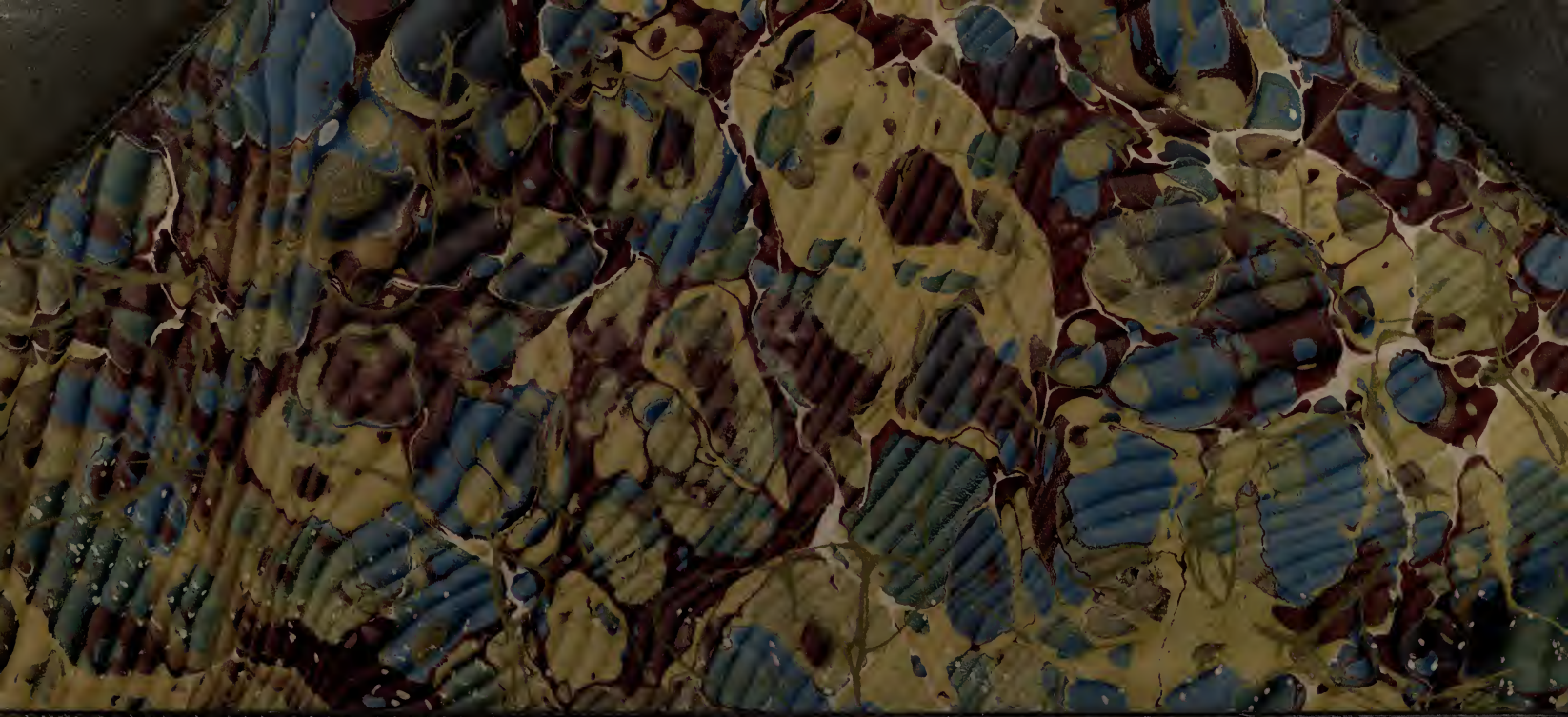

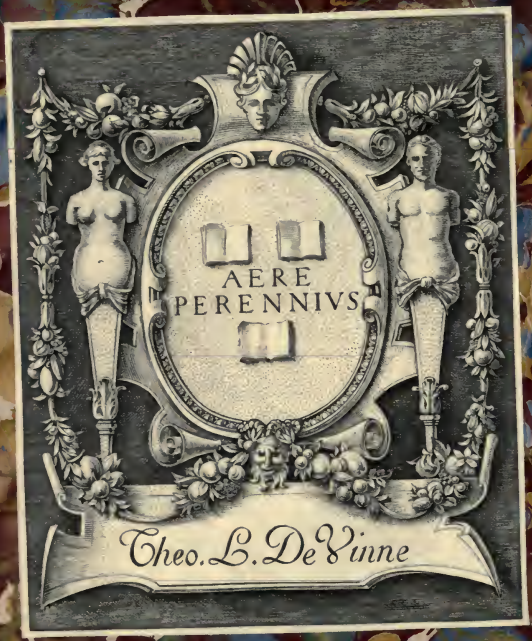
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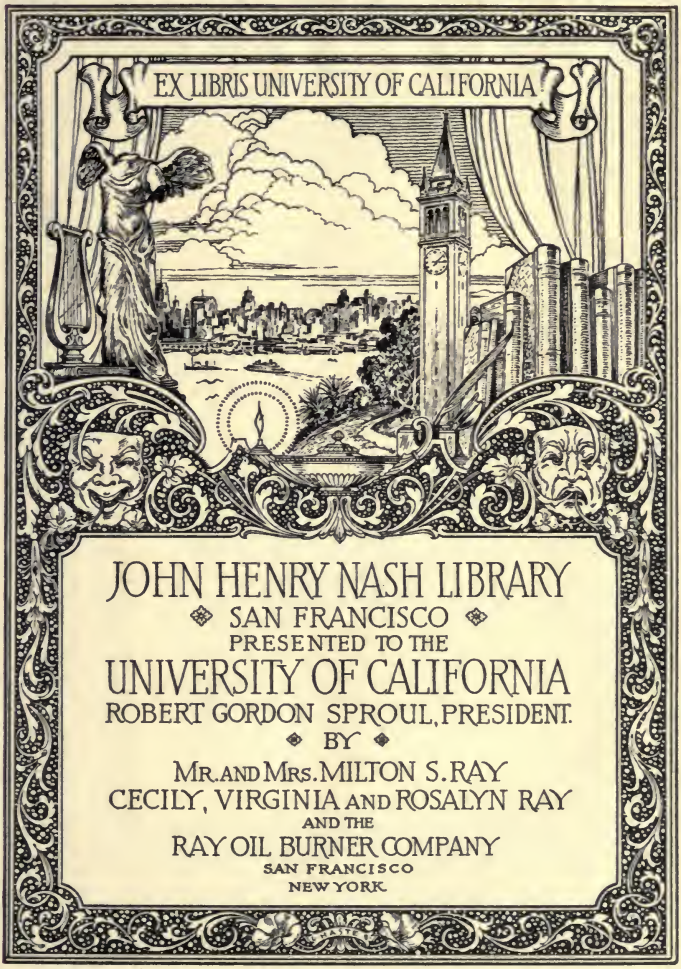

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PRINTING. A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press; including the Lives of the Stephani; . . . and various particulars of the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of their Times. Edited by E. Greswell. *Vignettes on titles.* 2 vols. 8vo, half polished calf, gilt backs and tops, uncut.

Oxford, 1833

FIRST EDITION.
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A VIEW OF THE

EARLY PARISIAN GREEK PRESS.

A VIEW OF THE
EARLY PARISIAN GREEK PRESS;

INCLUDING THE LIVES OF THE STEPHANI; NOTICES OF OTHER CONTEMPORARY GREEK PRINTERS OF PARIS;

And various particulars of the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of their Times.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD M.DCCC.XXXIII.

EDITED BY E. GRESWELL, B. D.

Printed by S. Collingwood, Printer to the University.

FOR D. A. TALBOYS.

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PREFACE.

A WORK of the following description, if executed with diligence and fidelity, may probably contribute to the gratification, first, of those who take pleasure in the perusal of literary history; especially that part of it which relates to what is usually termed the Revival of Learning: secondly, of scholars and critics, whose study it is to ascertain the genuine texts of ancient Greek authors: and thirdly, of such as without this professional object in view, desire to adorn their libraries by the acquisition of rare and primary Greek impressions; and preserve them there, as choice literary curiosities, venerable monuments of the learning and diligence of early printers, and in many instances, as beautiful specimens of early typographic art. With the restoration of elegant literature, the origin and progress of the Parisian Greek press has confessedly much connexion. Many of its pri-

mary productions commend themselves to the learned of our times, as the representatives of manuscripts now no longer found: and as literary treasures, we observe them richly decorated and carefully preserved, by ancient and modern possessors, both foreign and domestic. The impressions, concerning which these volumes peculiarly treat, at present constitute no inconsiderable part of the pride and ornament of our British Museums, and of our University Libraries, public and collegiate. They have a distinguished place assigned them, near the Aldine, the Juntine, and other yet more antique and precious specimens of the earliest Greek Press. Our most eminent scholars have manifested a kind of enthusiastic ardour for the acquisition of them: and when at length, by the course of human vicissitude, they have been dissevered from these

> lov'd associates, chiefs of elder art,
> Teachers of wisdom; who could once beguile
> Their tedious hours, and lighten every toil[a]:

[a] Lines of a "Sonnet," by the late W. Roscoe, esq. the author's highly respected, and much regretted friend.

others have contended for the possession of them, even at the hazard of pecuniary sacrifices, which more phlegmatic calculators would deem very excessive.

Though the Bibliographical works at present extant are very numerous, yet such as relate to individual Greek Printers are few. Angelo Maria Bandini published his work "De Florentina Juntarum Typographia, "ejusque Censoribus," to which are added, "Juntarum Typographiæ Annales ab anno "1497, ad 1500:" *Lucæ*, 1791, 8vo. We have been more recently favoured with M. Renouard's very accurate and interesting "Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde," *à Paris*, 1803, 2 voll. 8vo; and, *ibid.* 3 voll. 1825-6, 8vo. It is singular, that no French scholar, having the advantage of familiar access to the libraries of Paris, has hitherto shewn so much concern for the literary honours of his country, as to furnish any distinct notices of the earliest Greek printers of France; or of the rare impressions executed within the precincts of the Parisian University. Maittaire indeed, an indivi-

dual of French extraction, but domiciliated in England, about the commencement of the last century produced his "Stephanorum Historia, vitas ipsorum, & libros complectens:" (*Lond.* 1709, 8vo.) in which undertaking he had been imperfectly anticipated by "Th. Janssonii ab Almeloveen de vitis Stephanorum Dissertatio:" *Amstelod.* 1683, in 12mo. Maittaire also further added his "Historia Typographorum aliquot Parisiensium vitas et libros complectens:" *Lond.* 1717, 8vo. To the diligence and general accuracy of that Bibliographer, great praise is due. But his latter volume comprehends too little: and modern scholars have complained, that his narrative is dull [b], and his facts ill-arranged: so that by his pen, these subjects have not been invested with that degree of interest, of which they were susceptible.

Although I have endeavoured to supply the deficiencies of Maittaire, by including

[b] See Boswell's Life of Dr. Johnson, vol. III. p. 249. *Lond.* 1793, 8vo; also Dr. Cotton's Typograph. Gazetteer, p. 218. *Oxford*, 1831, 8vo.

in my account Typographers of eminence, whom he has omitted, and by tracing the progress of the early Parisian Greek press in a more connected succession than he has done; yet it will be evident, that my principal object has been, to give a clear and intelligible, though succinct account of the family of the Stephani: and more especially, of the two most celebrated individuals of that illustrious family of typographers, Robert Estienne I. and Henry Estienne II. The importance attached to each of these names, is sufficient to justify my undertaking. Robert's history and character claim investigation, (if they did not otherwise,) on account of the incidental implication of his name and story with the well-known modern controversy, respecting the authenticity of the verse, 1 John v. 7. The name of Henry Estienne has been brought so prominently into remembrance, by the late re-impression in England of his "The-" saurus Græcæ Linguæ," and by that renewed one now under process in France, that if Henry's fame as a scholar were not

in other respects sufficient to render his Life an interesting subject of inquiry, yet doubtless, all those who possess, or contemplate the possession of his "Thesaurus Græ-" cus," will be gratified by any probable and well authenticated account of the author. To multiply words in a prefatory address, concerning such an individual as H. Stephanus, would be superfluous. But concerning Robert, the renowned father of Henry, it may not be inexpedient to subjoin the following observations.

Robert Estienne has been frequently mentioned by writers in the controversy before alluded to, merely under the denomination of a printer and bookseller of Paris. Readers and hearers are generally influenced by names and terms, as they are commonly understood; and these are designations, which in present estimation certainly carry with them little authority. But Robert is entitled to be brought forward under the sanction of a higher, and more dignified character; as a very extraordinary and distinguished proficient in Greek

and Roman literature: as one of the most conspicuous restorers, and promoters of learning: as himself both an excellent judge, and a zealous patron of literary merit: and on the whole, as one of the most influential and patriotic characters of his age. If these facts had not been such, the testimonies of Thuanus which I have recorded [c], would have been ridiculous. It should not be forgotten, that several of the typographers of those early days, occupied chairs of the most important professorships in the foreign universities; that a considerable number of them were at least regarded as accomplished scholars, personally; and received the honours and respect due to literary preeminence. But what reader of modern times would consider printers and booksellers, as amongst the most authoritative critics of the age? Let us add, that R. Stephanus was also a theologian of no mean order, though not actually of the profession: a truly efficient promoter of protest-

[c] Pages 347, 395, 396, of this volume.

antism, no less than some of the most conspicuous of those who have been denominated reformers: and less objectionably so perhaps, than many others; because his endeavour was to promote that great work, chiefly by the impression and dissemination of the sacred scriptures[d]. If by attaching himself to the church of Geneva, he professed his adherence to those peculiar opinions of its celebrated founder and head, which are disapproved by many protestants of our times; this will not be deemed a subject of reprehension in him, which was common to all the reformed of his nation. We know indeed, that various illustrious divines of our own country, who at the same period fled from persecution, and found a temporary refuge amongst the Helvetic churches, embraced also the peculiar no-

[d] Mr. Pettigrew (*Bibliotheca Sussexiana, vol. I. part ii. p.* 390.) has said, that "the Stephenses printed no less than "forty-five different editions of the Bible in various languages, "and at a time when great persecutions were raised against "those, who professed to give publicity to the genuine Holy "Scriptures." But is this extraordinary number really correct?

tions of Calvin; yet without prejudice to their characters as excellent and pious men. The main triumph of the reformation was this; that it established the right of private judgment, and caused the sacred scriptures to be recognised as the rule of faith. If some of the reformers (as fallible men) built "upon this foundation," than which "no other can be laid," not only "gold, silver, precious stones," but also "wood, hay, "stubble, every man's work shall be made "manifest [e]:" the unsubstantial materials will perish, and the solid will remain.

Furthermore, as Robert Estienne has recently, and in our own days, been put upon his trial, it seems reasonable that he should have the benefit of his general character, so far as it can be ascertained. Cæsar in very remote times said, "suam innocentiam.... "perpetua vita esse perspectam [f]:" and we still observe public men making the same appeal. In endeavouring however, to investigate Robert's history as minutely

[e] 1 Cor. iii. 11, 12. [f] De Bello Gallico, lib. I. c. 40.

as practicable, I found that no satisfactory account of his life could be obtained, apart from the religious disputes of those times in which he lived. Neither could Henry Estienne's merits and achievements be justly appreciated, without taking into consideration the external events, which encouraged or impeded him, in his career of professional excellence. Such is my apology for the brief sketches of civil and church history, which are found in these volumes. For the biographical and literary notices which are superadded, I trust it is necessary to offer none. It has been frequently remarked, that bibliographical works are generally uninteresting[g]. This is, because for the most part, they treat of titles, colophons, and technicalities; and are too rigidly confined to such limits. But the connexion between bibliography and literary history is natural and *obvious*. Books invite our attention, not only to typographers, and patrons of literature, but also to

[g] Dr. Cotton's Typogr. Gazetteer. Preface, p. xi. note 6.

authors, commentators, and critics; and excite our curiosity respecting their personal circumstances, characters, and controversies: and thus gradually lead us to expatiate in those scenes, than which no other can be more rationally entertaining. Under the temptation of allurements which they exhibit, a propensity to make larger excursions than the occasion strictly requires, (if it be in any circumstances excusable,) may claim indulgence in works of such a description as the present.

With regard to my authorities, I have not hesitated to use not only the sense, but the words of former writers: not otherwise solicitous to give the present work an appearance of originality, than by endeavouring to accommodate their communications and narratives to the idiom of our own vernacular tongue. This observation more particularly applies to the works of Chevillier, Le Clerc, Maittaire, and M. Gaillard.

I beg leave to mention here, in correction of what I have stated respecting Vascosan, p. 122 of this volume, that I now

find it doubtful whether he *ever* used the "Insigne Fontis" as a mark in his title-pages; though it was certainly the distinction of his "Imprimerie." I also entreat the candid reader's special attention to the subjoined verbal "Errata;" which could not be rectified in due time, on account of the distance of my residence from the University press.

WILLIAM PARR GRESWELL.

DENTON, near MANCHESTER,
December 5, 1832.

ERRATA.

Vol. I. page 2. line 15. after Paravisinum, the date, 1476, omitted in some copies.
161. line 27. *for* bound, *read* round.
173. line 20. *for* gens des, *read* gens de.
183. line 27. *for* minister, *read* physician.
195. line 1. *for* fourteenth, *read* fifteenth.
215. line 2. *for* gens des lettres, *read* gens de lettres.
224. line 11. *for* Viromercato, *read* Vicomercato.
257. line 7. *for* Tissot, *read* Tissard.
259. line 2. *for* Gens des, *read* Gens de.

Vol. II. page 168. line 8. *for* tracts, *read* MSS.

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CHAPTER I.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE ORIGIN OF GREEK PRINTING—INVESTIGATION OF GREEK CAPITALS BY JOANNES LASCARIS—EARLIEST GREEK PRESS AT PARIS—FRANCIS TISSARD—ÆGIDIUS GOURMONT—HIERONYMUS ALEANDER—MATTHÆUS BOLSEC—IMPRESSIONS FROM 1507 TO 1512 INCLUSIVE.

BEFORE I enter upon the subject now contemplated, it may be useful by way of introduction to take a cursory view of the origin and progress of GREEK TYPOGRAPHY in Italy; and to bring the inquiry down to that period at least when, by the labour and enterprise of Aldus Manutius, Greek impressions which had been antecedently very rare were brought into comparatively general usage: for to the example of that meritorious typographer it is doubtless principally to be attributed, that the art of Greek printing became familiar to many of the Cisalpine cities and universities early in the sixteenth century, and was practised by individual typographers of that age too numerous for our present distinct mention.

It is agreed that the oldest specimens of Greek

printing consist of detached passages and citations, found in a very few of the first printed copies of Latin authors, such as *Lactantius, in Monast. Sublacensi, anni* 1465; the *Aulus Gellius* and *Apuleius* of Sweynheim and Pannartz of 1469; and some works of Bessarion, *Romæ, sine anno.* In all these, it is remarkable that the Greek typography is legibly and creditably executed: whereas the Greek introduced into the *Officia* and *Paradoxa* of Cicero, *Mediolani, per Ant. Zarotum, anni* 1474, is so deformed as to be scarcely legible. The first printed entirely-Greek book is *Lascaris Grammatica Gr. Mediolani, ex recognitione Demetrii Cretensis, per Dionysium Paravisinum,* 4to. The character of this rare volume is elegant and of a moderate size; resembling that in which the same Grammar again appeared *anno* 1499. The same work, or a portion of it, was repeated *Græcè, et cum Latinâ interpretatione,* at Milan, *anno* 1480, 4to: and the next year, viz. *anno* 1481, from the same place and press issued *Psalterium Græcum cum Latina recognitione,* both these under the revision of Joannes Crestoni, a monk of Placentia. Maittaire believes the printer of these several impressions of Milan to have been the same Dionysius Paravisinus.

Venice, which had hitherto vied with other cities both in the number and skill of its Latin typographers, had indeed sufficient cause of jealousy on

observing the palm of earliest Greek printing thus borne away by Milan; yet she suffered ten years to elapse before the commencement of an actual rivalship in the same department. In 1486, that city produced in sacred literature a *Psalterium Græcum*, in profane, *Homeri Batrachomyomachia.* The first was executed by Alexander, the latter by Leonicus, both Cretans. Maittaire describes the character of the Psalter as exhibiting a very antique and singular appearance. The Batrachomyomachia, nothing more legible than the former, is however furnished with accents and breathings. It also exhibits certain Greek scholia found in no early edition besides; and what is more singular, they are arranged between the lines of the poem, *ut singulis carminibus interlineare superstet scholium.* Both these scholia and the title page are printed *en rouge.* Such an intermixture of red and black in every page Maittaire thinks not unpleasing. Of this rare volume he procured in his own time a kind of fac-simile impression, which is known to collectors.

Milan and Venice, then, produced the earliest Greek impressions; but whilst they were satisfied with such as were of a minor description, Florence contemplated a gigantic project, which was to throw all past efforts into the shade. It was nothing less than that noble edition of the whole works of Homer, *Homeri Opera Omnia,*

Græce; which was finished *anno* 1488, in two fine volumes, folio, by the skill and industry of the same Demetrius of Crete, (who appears now to have transferred his residence from Milan to Florence,) under the special revision of Demetrius Chalcondyles, and at the expense of two patriotic Florentine citizens. Here, then was an instance of art, starting as it were from its first rudiments into sudden and absolute perfection. Whether, says Maittaire, one regards the texture and colour of the paper, the agreeable form of the characters, the regular intervals of the lines, the fine proportion of the margins, or the *tout ensemble*, the combined execution and effect of the whole, even in later times nothing more elegant and finished has appeared.

Thus Greek typography seemed already to have attained in a measure its ἀκμὴ and maturity; as was evinced by the specimens which we have enumerated. It had already forced its way through the difficulties of so novel and extraordinary an undertaking. Nothing now remained but to secure and amplify the glory which had been acquired: and this object was effected by a new series of adventurers, who soon began to display an honourable emulation in the same career.

In the year 1488, which was signalized by the noble impression of the works of Homer last mentioned, we find that the *Grammatica Græca* of

Lascaris, together with the *Interpretatio Latina* of John the monk of Placentia, issued from the press of Leonardus de Basilea, at Vicenza, in 4to. The operations of the Greek press, however, continued as yet very slow: and it was not till after a further interval of about five years, that another Greek impression appeared. In 1493, a splendid addition was made to the typographic glory of Milan by a magnificent impression of *Isocrates, Græce.* The editor of this fine book, which is said to exhibit a remarkably pure and correct text, was Demetrius Chalcondyles; the printers, Henricus de Germanus and Sebastianus ex Pontremulo. Before the conclusion of the fifteenth century the same city also distinguished itself by the earliest edition of Suidas: *Suidæ Lexicon, Græce, Mediolani, per Joan. Bissolum et Benedictum Mangium,* 1499: to which is prefixed an amusing Greek dialogue[a] between a bookseller

[a] This dialogue may be found in the collection of *Præfationes et Epistolæ ante* 1500; and is to the following purport.

Bookseller. Come hither, student—if you chance to be an admirer of the Greek language. *Student.* For what purpose? Answer quickly; for I am in haste. *B.* I invite you to inspect this book, newly printed, as you see, and to buy it also; for its contents are delightfully rich and various, and it treats of all subjects. Nothing there is in the poetical writers, historians, or orators, however dark or difficult, which it does not render clear and intelligible: it explains every thing most fully and

and a student, from the pen of Stephanus Niger, a native of Cremona and disciple of Demetrius Chalcondyles.

In 1496, Florence produced the celebrated *Editio primaria* of the works of Lucian, *Luciani Opera, Græce;* of which the printer's name is not specified. But amongst the most interesting typographical curiosities of these times are certain antecedent impressions of Florence *anni* 1494, which, under the direction of Joannes Lascaris, were executed *litteris capitalibus.* These were *Anthologia Græca; Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica, Gr.; Euripidis Medea, Hippolytus, Alcestis, et Andromacha, Gr.; Callimachi Hymni, Gr.; Gnomæ Monostichoi ex diversis poetis, et*

usefully. *S.* Are you not aware that my opinion coincides with the common saying, "He that prates much, blunders "often?" *B.* That maxim, I am sensible, is true enough. But the loquaciousness of Suidas is an exception from the proverb; for he who speaks of many and different things must necessarily say a great deal. Suidas however, abridging many topics, has comprehended each in few words: he has admirably imitated the example of bees: as they alight on blossoms and flowers of all kinds, and extract from each what is most useful, so also does Suidas: and in a word, the most diligent and judicious men make a practice of thus tasting or trying every thing—and collecting from all sources what is most lucrative and beautiful. *S.* By Apollo! you speak well, and to the purpose. What is the price of the volume? *B.* Three crowns. *S.* Here they are then; give me the book.

poematium Musæi, Gr. six distinct impressions: the printer, Laurentius Francisci de Alopa, a Venetian: all bearing date in the same year, 1494.

To Joannes Lascaris the verification and introduction into use of GREEK CAPITALS are attributed: and it appears from these specimens, he thought it expedient that the whole text of each Greek poet, the *pars libri nobilior*, as Maittaire expresses it, should be printed *litteris majusculis*, and the scholia or notes only in the smaller character. The fine capitals of Lascaris were, as we know, admitted into use by subsequent printers only so far as to distinguish proper names, and the commencement of poetical lines or verses; and in some early editions of the Greek scholiasts upon Homer and Sophocles, to distinguish the whole words or passages of the poet commented on from those of the annotator.

Of one of these remarkable volumes, viz. the *Anthologia Græca*, the *Epigramma* and *Epistola* by Lascaris, form a curious portion: the former consisting of Greek elegiacs, the latter, which extends to a very considerable length, of Latin prose: the verses printed in Greek, the preface in Roman capitals. It is less however the form than the matter of this preface which will be found interesting. "Finding," he says, "in "the recently discovered art of printing, a power-"ful incentive to attempt the vindication of the

" Greek alphabetical characters from their pre-
" sent depravation; and having observed that the
" *notæ* or characters, hitherto used by typo-
" graphers, were neither handsomely delineated,
" nor could aptly cohere together; *quod perplexæ*
" *nimium et circumvolutæ sint;* he has placed in
" the hands of the *Excusores*, or printers, a se-
" ries of capitals, or *Litteræ Majusculæ*, care-
" fully formed after the genuine models of anti-
" quity; and has directed that they shall be used
" in this impression of the Greek Anthology. In
" investigating and ascertaining these characters,
" his first care has been to examine and compare
" together the inscriptions found on the numis-
" mata, the marbles, and other sculptures of anti-
" quity; relying chiefly on the most ancient, and
" rejecting as models of imitation all those, in
" which the elementary forms or character have
" by transmission through various regions and co-
" lonies been manifestly vitiated. With those in-
" vestigators who, misled by the variety in which
" these *litterarum notæ* present themselves in the
" specimens of different places and periods, are
" ready to conclude that the Greeks were as di-
" verse in their modes of writing as in their dia-
" lects; *quot linguis Græcos tot etiam usos lit-*
" *terarum figuris;* he can by no means agree:
" being persuaded that the original inventors,
" whether Cadmus and Danaus, or Orpheus, pre-

" scribed an alphabet which was definite and uni-
" form: *formam unam et eandem.* Even had
" the case been otherwise, it would be less eligible
" to follow antiquity into a perplexing variety,
" than to adopt from the whole what was most
" convenient and beautiful. To the *librarii,* or
" scribes, some allowance might be made for their
" frequent neglect of uniformity, inasmuch as
" speed was generally their object; although to
" a way of writing, so capricious and uncertain,
" many of the obscurities and corruptions of the
" Codices MSS. both Greek and Latin, are to
" be attributed: but in the operation of printing
" it is obviously the wisest plan to adopt those
" models which combine simplicity with beauty,
" and correspond most symmetrically with each
" other."

After diffuse reasoning of this kind, he enters upon another and more profound mode of argument to evince the genuineness of the Alphabet now recommended. An instance or two may serve to exemplify it. The Alpha he proves of genuine formation, by an appeal to a figure termed πένταλφα, found in some fragments or treatises of Hermes and the Pythagorean philosophy. From the acknowledged form of the ancient Digamma he says the Monogamma is ascertained; and appeals also to the term γαμμοειδῶς, as used by Jamblichus. The true form of Δ, he observes, is shewn

by its application to that region of Egypt which was called by that name, and to the *libelli*, denominated δέλτοι on account of the triangular form in which by those of remote times *Epistolæ*, or letters, were folded: and, *lastly*, by the sidus Δέλτωτον of ancient astronomers: and in like manner he proceeds *seriatim* with regard to many of the rest.

This preface is addressed by Lascaris to Petrus Medices. It abounds with honourable testimonies to the family of the Medici; which, he says, has of all others shewn the most conspicuous zeal in collecting the various monuments of antiquity; and the justest discernment of their value. He records the special munificence of Lorenzo de' Medici, by means of which two hundred manuscripts, *ducenta antiquorum volumina*, had lately been brought to Florence from Greece and the neighbouring countries: and he alludes to a magnificent "Bibliotheca," or edifice, which Piero was then constructing as a depository for those and similar literary treasures: to the latter he expresses his own personal obligations, and the hopes which all the learned reposed in him as the hereditary patron of letters. The pillage of Florence, however, by Charles VIII. of France, the ruin of the fortunes of the house of Medici, the banishment of Piero and his speedy death, most of which events either anticipated or soon followed the pub-

lication of this impression of the "Anthologia "Græca," not only rendered nugatory the preceding expectations, but probably occasioned the otherwise unaccountable suppression of this interesting preface itself; which is actually found in very few of the copies at present known to be extant. Maittaire, in his *Annales*, tom. I. p. 270, seqq. has given a fac-simile of it.

Thus then we see that, whereas the honour of the first GREEK PRESS has by some been ascribed to Aldus Manutius, it must be understood to have been so done κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and not with strict correctness. The zeal which Aldus evinced in cultivating this branch of his art, and the number and variety of Greek authors which he gave to the public, certainly entitle him, by way of eminence, to the distinction by which Henricus Stephanus characterises him, when speaking of Greek works he says of that typographer—

Qui graphicis primus tradidit illa typis.

And Gesner, in his "Pandects," also thus expresses himself to Paulus Manutius concerning Aldus his father: "Exemplaria Græca ante Patrem tuum, "aut nulla ni fallor, aut pauca, nec ea industria "typis mandata sunt."

Chevillier observes, on the authority of Aldus himself in his preface to the edition of *Stephanus de Urbibus, Gr.* fol. 1502, that he first engaged

in Greek impressions when war broke out in Italy; meaning in 1494, in which year Charles VIII. of France passed the Alps, in order to the conquest of Naples. Chevillier considered his impression of the works of Aristotle, the first volume of which appeared in November 1495, as the earliest fruit of his press. But M. Renouard, in his catalogue of the Aldine impressions, first mentioning *Constantini Lascaris Erotemata*, says it is the earliest work printed by Aldus with a date, and probably the first which he gave to the public. But some, he adds, consider his *Musæus* in 4to. without date, as the earliest impression: the reasons for which may be seen in his work.

Aldus generally printed his editions in Greek solely, desirous to reestablish the study of the language, and to induce scholars to read the originals. His success may be estimated from his own words: "Nostris vero temporibus multos "licet videre Catones, hoc est Senes in senectute "Græce discentes: nam adolescentulorum ac ju- "venum Græcis incumbentium jam tantus fere "est numerus, quantus eorum qui Latinis. Prop- "terea Græci libri vehementer ab omnibus in- "quiruntur," &c. *Præfat. ad Logicam Aristot.* Some impressions he did however give with a Latin "interpretatio" subjoined to the Greek text. Of this, the *Sphæra* of Proclus, *anni* 1499, fol. is an instance; as well as several others which might

be mentioned. He was the inventor also of an arrangement, by which the same edition might be bound either with the Greek and Latin confronted together, or severally in distinct volumes. Chevillier who remarks this had seen few other specimens of such an arrangement; but it has been revived in modern times by the family of Foulis at Glasgow, and hence requires less explanation. The *Æsopi et Gabriæ Fabulæ*, fol. 1505, and the *Grammatica Græca Constantini Lascaris*, 4to. 1512, are mentioned by him as executed in this manner.

Conrad Gesner was an advocate for the union of the Greek originals with a Latin version. The Greek authors, which that learned physician published at a period subsequent to that in question, were printed "Græce et Latine;" and he is considered as the first who brought into general use double columns, exhibiting in the same page both the original Greek and the Latin interpretation. Chevillier thinks, however, he must have derived the idea from some of the earliest impressions of the sacred books; such as the *Psalterium, Græce et Latine*, Milan, 1481, which has the two texts thus confronted; and several of the early Polyglot works, which have the number of contrasted columns multiplied, and similarly arranged according to the number of texts exhibited. The *N. Testamentum, Gr. Lat.* of Ximenes,

attached to his fine Polyglot Bible, and finished *Compluti*, 1514, in fol. a volume deserving to be ranked amongst the noblest early specimens of Greek typography, is thus executed in double columns. Erasmus also adopted them in his fine editions of the *N. Test. Gr. Lat.* printed by Frobenius at Basil in 1516, and in subsequent years: but before Gesner's time this form had been almost exclusively confined to sacred publications. Chevillier found only one exception; viz. the *Grammatica Græca* of Lascaris, *anni* 1488.

The most extensive and voluminous efforts of the early Greek press are doubtless to be found amongst the Aldine editions. Such are the Aristotle, Gr. fol. 1495–1498, and the Galen, which issued from the same establishment after the decease of Aldus Manutius, viz. *anno* 1525, in five vols. fol. and a small character. Andreas Cratander of Basil had the courage and patience to reprint the work in the like number of volumes. The Commentary of Eustathius on Homer, in 4 vols. Gr. fol. printed at Rome by Antonius Bladus, 1542–1550, was an immense undertaking. It was however, after a considerable interval, exceeded by the fine edition of the works of S. Chrysostom, executed in England, where Greek typography had before been comparatively little practised. I speak of the well-known magnificent impression, intitled, *S. J. Chrysostomi Opera, Græce*, 8 vols. fol.

Etonæ in Coll. Regali. Excud. Joannes Norton, 1613, under the direction and at the charge of Sir Henry Saville. These volumes, (says Chevillier,) "sont d'un tres-beau caractère. C'est un chef "d'œuvre d'Imprimerie Grecque." This impression acquired for John Norton the same title or distinction in England, which the celebrated Robert Estienne had attained under Francis I. of "in Græcis, &c. Regius Typographus."

ULRIC GERING, who introduced the practice of printing at Paris, had on his first exercising the art no Greek characters; nor did he afterwards provide more than were sufficient for the introduction of single words, or at the most of some few lines of Greek, into his impressions. At a more advanced period, viz. *anno* 1505, Jodocus Badius printed at Paris (*in fol.*) *Laurentii Vallæ Annotationes in Nov. Testamentum*, in which several passages of Greek were necessarily given; but pleads the paucity and scarceness of types in excuse for the imperfection of the Greek typography. Some Greek words or sentences are found in the *Psalterium Quincuplex*, *anni* 1509, and other earlier impressions of the first Henri Estienne, which are executed very incorrectly, without breathings or accents: but in his Theodoritus, *anni* 1519, various specimens of Greek are found, properly accented and better executed.

In the same year an impression of the *In-*

stitutiones Imperiales, fol. en rouge et noir appeared *Parisiis, ex ædibus viduæ Bertholdi Rembolt:* and in that work Joannes Chappuis, the editor, claims the merit of having inserted a few Greek passages. This he did by the assistance of Georgius Hermotimus, or Hermonymus, a Lacedæmonian who, at that period residing at Paris, was held in admiration as a prodigy of learning, though in reality his erudition extended little beyond the ability to read Greek works with fluency, and handsomely to write the Greek characters.

Poinçons began, however, to be engraven, and Dies to be cast at Paris, in order to furnish Greek for entire impressions, so early as in the year 1507. Francis Tissard superintended this important undertaking; and prevailed upon ÆGIDIUS or GILES GOURMONT to set up a GREEK PRESS; and the first specimens of impressions entirely Greek appeared in the Parisian university, in the year last mentioned.

FRANCIS TISSARD was a native of Amboise. He studied Humanity and Philosophy at Paris at an early age, and removed thence to Orleans to study the civil law. But the licentiousness of that university induced his friends to send him speedily thence into Italy. He there cultivated classical literature under Guarinus of Verona, Beroaldus of Bologna, and Calphurnius of Padua. He acquired the Hebrew language also from a

priest of the synagogue of Ferrara; obtained special instruction in the Greek from Demetrius Spartiata; and having under other masters pursued his study of the civil and canon law, took his degree of Doctor in those faculties at Bologna. He returned to Paris thus imbued with useful learning, and with an ardent zeal for its extension and promotion. It became his special object to establish there the genuine study of the Greek language, and to render common GREEK BOOKS, which had previously been rare and expensive in the university. These particulars are mentioned in a dialogue found in Tissard's Hebrew Grammar, and in some of the prefaces of Greek works printed under his superintendance.

It had been, he said, in Italy a common reflection upon the university of Paris, that it possessed no Greek school. The Italian scholars prided themselves in their skill in the sciences connected with Humanity, and more especially in the cultivation of Greek learning. This therefore Tissard enlarges upon, in a discourse to the students of Paris, which he annexed to the first Greek impression *anni* 1507. Addressing himself to the vanity of the French nation, he tells them that, by the knowledge of Greek, the Italians principally assert their superiority over them. "They "call us," he adds, "barbarians: they exclaim

" against our attempts to prescribe laws to Italy, " and to domineer over a nation refined and po- " lite, and deeply versed in elegant learning." Tissard thus artfully exhorts them to assert their own reputation by applying to Greek literature; observing that he has provided for the impression of Greek books, which will henceforward cost little, and aid them much in the attainment of the language. The merits of Tissard were speedily recognised at the French court; and he was received by the duke de Valois (afterwards Francis I.) as one of the men of letters, who had the honour of forming a part of his establishment. As to Ægidius Gourmontius or Gilles de Gourmont, of all the printers who flourished in the Gallic metropolis in the reign of Louis XII. his memory, as the first who printed Greek authors in that city, deserves to be held by French scholars in the highest estimation.

A. D. 1507. The first Greek book, which under the auspices of Tissard issued from Gourmont's press, was summarily entitled, Βίβλος ἡ γνωμαγυρικὴ [b],

[b] More fully: *Alphabetum Græcum: Regulæ pronuntiandi Græcum: Sententiæ septem sapientum: Opusculum de invidia: Aurea carmina Pythagoræ: Phocylidæ poema admonitorium: Carmina Sibyllæ Erythrææ de judicio Christi venturo: Differentiæ vocum succincta traditio.* In fine: *Operoso huic opusculo extremam imposuit manum Ægidius Gourmontius, integerrimus primus duce*

a small elementary work, containing a Greek alphabet; rules of pronunciation; and various *sententiæ, et opuscula.* This work came forth under the especial patronage of the prince de Valois, and of Jean d'Orleans, archbishop of Toulouse, afterwards cardinal de Longueville.

The second fruit of their united exertions was the *Batrachomyomachia,* which appeared in the original Greek on the *VIII. Kal. Octobr.* of the same year; and was inscribed to the archbishop of Toulouse.

The third Greek impression was the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, or Works and Days of Hesiod; inscribed to Jean Morelet, secretary to Louis XII. It appeared in 4to, on the *V. Kal. Novembr.* of the same year.

The fourth, which was completed on the *VII. Kal. Decembr.* following, was the Greek

Francisco Tyssardo Ambacæo Græcarum litterarum Parisiis Impressor: anno domini M.CCCCCVII. *pridie Idus Augusti,* 4to. Tissard subjoined a Greek epigram of eight lines, with a Latin version, which are both of his composition.

> Tu tamen ante alios salve ô meus inclyte Princeps,
> Angolisme, chori signifer Aonii, &c.
> . . . . . .
> Sisque Tolosanus fautor qui numina servas
> Musarum, et votis ambo favete meis.

It contains also a preface: and at the end is found the *Paraclesis,* or exhortation to the students of the university before mentioned.

Grammar of Emanuel Chrysoloras, or *Chrysolorœ Erotemata, Græce.* To this Charles Rousseau affixed an epigram in honour of Francis Tissard of Amboise, denominated the author of the earliest Greek impressions at Paris.

> Primus Parrhisia Graiæ nova gloria linguæ
> Ambacus Argivum concinit urbe melos:
> Quo duce morales sophiæ amplexabere leges:
> Hoc igitur stabili pectore fige memor.

These were not only the first Greek impressions executed at Paris, but the first that appeared in the whole kingdom of France. Chevillier is careful to claim for his university the honour of this commencement of Greek, as well as of Latin and vernacular typography.

In giving the preceding detail of the earliest essays in Greek printing at Paris, I have relied on the authority of Panzer, Chevillier, and other bibliographers. M. Renouard, however, in his *Bibliothéque d'un amateur*, vol. II. p. 187, informs us that he has discovered another Greek impression *anni* 1507, from the same press, which he thus describes: *Musæi antiquissimi poetæ de Leandri et Herûs amoribus, Græce. Veneunt in ædibus Egidii Gourmontii* (*Parisiis*) 1507, 4to. M. Renouard adds, that this volume consists of eight leaves only, and is almost entirely unknown. He even ventures to express an opin-

ion, that it is probably the very earliest essay of Gilles de Gourmont in Greek typography.

Gourmont having in conjunction with Tissard thus surmounted the formidable difficulties of such a first undertaking, and merited the title which he assumed of "Primus Græcarum litterarum Pa-" risiis impressor," in the ensuing year established his claim to the like honourable distinction for the Hebrew, by his impression of two other works from the zealous pen of Tissard. These were his *Grammatica Hebraica et Græca*, in 4to, and his *Alphabetum Hebraicum et Græcum*, in 4to also.

Chevillier says he finds no further memorials of Tissard after the year 1508, and very probably concludes that he was prevented by death from carrying forwards the practice of Greek typography. But his loss was effectually supplied by HIERONYMUS ALEANDER, a person of considerable erudition as well in the Hebrew as in the Greek and Latin languages: in all which, it is asserted that he spoke and wrote with facility. Louis XII. invited this scholar from Italy to take up his residence at Paris. He there read Greek lectures in the early part of the day, explaining Plato, Theodore Gaza, and other authors. The evenings were devoted to readings in Cicero. Such a novel practice excited great interest in the Parisian university; and scholars of all nations, some

of whom were of the highest rank, resorted to him for instruction. He received a pension from the king of five hundred gold crowns; was Principal of "le Collège des Lombards;" and in the year 1512, was elected "Recteur" of the whole university by public acclamation. The plague afterwards raging at Paris induced him to remove to Orleans, where he continued his Greek lectures.

I shall not enlarge upon the history of this distinguished Italian, concerning whom many interesting particulars are given by M. de Burigny, (*Vie d'Erasme*, tom. II. pp. 191. seqq.) It appears that he had been a member of the academy of Aldus, who inscribed to him his edition of *Homeri Ilias Græce*, and speaks in high terms of his literary qualifications. He rendered to Erasmus very important assistance in the collection of his "Adagia," a work which Henry Estienne pronounced a miracle of erudition. The friendship, which subsisted between them at an early period, suffered some diminution when the orthodoxy of Erasmus became suspected; for Aleander, when officially employed by Leo X. to counteract the Lutheran doctrines, exercised his tongue and pen against the sage of Rotterdam with great acrimony, as one whose writings and conduct bespoke him favourable to them. It is worthy of note that the celebrated Vatablus attended Alean-

der's lectures at Paris, and maintained a literary intercourse with him.

1509. The first Greek work, which issued from the press of Gourmont under the superintendance of Aleander, comprised several of the Opuscula of Plutarch: *Plutarchi Chæronei de virtute et vitio:* —ejusdem, *Quemadmodum oporteat adolescentem poemata audire—Hieronymi Aleandri Mottensis IV. Disticha Græca.* To the volume is prefixed an "Epistola Aleandri veræ philosophiæ "in parisino gymnasio candidatis." This volume appeared *anno* 1509. *prid. Cal. Maii,* in 4to.

After a considerable interval, viz. *anno* 1511, the press of Gourmont again produced *Emanuelis Chrysoloræ Erotemata linguæ Gr. cum multis additamentis et commentario Latino,* 4to. It was repeated again from the same press in 1512, *edente Francisco Vatablo.*

These two learned men, therefore, Tissard and Aleander, had the honour of establishing the GREEK PRESS at Paris. Aleander gave to the public in the year 1512 a *Lexicon Græco-Latinum,* the fruit of his own erudition and labour, which was printed at Paris, in folio, by the joint exertions of Ægidius Gourmontius and MATTHÆUS BOLSECUS. The latter distinguished himself as the second Greek typographer of the French capital; and *anno* 1512, *XI. Cal. Jan.* gave on his own separate account an impression intitled

Gnomologia Theognidis, Pythagoræ, Phocylidis, &c. *Græce,* 4to, *recognitore Aleandro.*

But as perfection is always a gradual attainment, these early editions (as it might be expected) are very defective. The characters are destitute of beauty: the poinçons were ill cut: the dies were ill cast. The stock of type was so small, that the press was often necessarily at a stand. All these disadvantages, and various others, are candidly acknowledged by Aleander himself; whose own words, cited from the preface to his Lexicon before mentioned, the reader will not perhaps be averse to peruse. "Si quam misera sit in hac "urbe Græcæ impressionis conditio cognosceres, "quando præter impolitiam tam parvo etiam nu- "mero characteres invenias, ut quod mercatorum "vel negligentia vel avaritia facit, non solum unam "vel alteram literam inter cudendum aliquando "omittere, sed & totum opus plusculos dies inter- "mittere, necesse fuerit. Quid de voculationibus "dicamus, aut furtivis notis, quas abbreviaturas "vocant? Quarum hæ prorsus nullæ erant, illæ "deformes," &c. "Sed," he adds, "hæc omnia jam "in melius redigunt. Nam & accentus non ut "antea temporarii literis perpetuo adhærent; & "furtivæ notæ quotidie exscalpuntur, & favente "Deo nihil posthac fiet in aliis libris non ad "amussim."

At what precise time Aleander, who agreeably

to the special testimony of Erasmus himself contributed so importantly to the restoration of classical literature at Paris, quitted that capital, I have met with no record. He was subsequently however advanced to high eminence, became the pope's librarian, was created archbishop of Brundusium, and was sent as nuncio into Germany in opposition to Luther. His proceedings in that character have been agreeably detailed by Mr. Roscoe in his "Life and Pontificate of Leo X." He afterwards filled a like official situation at the court of Francis I. with whom he became a prisoner at the battle of Pavia. At length by Clement VII. he was raised to the dignity of cardinal.

Gilles de Gourmont did not confine himself to the employment of his Greek Press, but printed various other works also of different descriptions. His usual MARK or Device consisted of his own arms, surrounded by this motto:

TÔST OU TARD PRÈS OU LOIN
A LE FORT DU FOIBLE BESOIN.

In addition also to his own "gentilitia insignia" and the above French "epigraphe" or motto, he frequently added certain "Greek Adagia," such as Σπεῦδε βράδεως—Νοεῖ καὶ πρᾶττε, &c.

After the example of this artist, the printers of Paris, encouraged by the university, made it a point of honour to enrich their respective typographic establishments with Greek characters.

Gourmont himself appears to have survived till the year 1528, or longer: and as his press continued in more or less active employment after the initiatory exertions which we have already mentioned, other Greek impressions of his will present themselves to notice, in the further progress of our chronological series.

CHAPTER II.

JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIUS—REMARKABLE LATIN IMPRESSIONS BY HIM, FROM 1495-8. TO 1535 INCLUSIVE —GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS—GULIELMUS BUDÆUS.

JODOCUS BADIUS ASCENSIUS claims our particular notice on account of his affinity to the family of Estienne. He was a Fleming, a native of Asc, (in agro Bruxellensi,) whence he was denominated Ascensius. He is supposed to have been born *anno* 1462, to have received the rudiments of his education in a religious house at Ghent: and after continuing his studies at Brussels to have visited Ferrara, where he became a scholar of Baptista Guarino. He afterwards became a professor of Humanity, as some accounts say, at Paris, but according to others, at Lyons; where he read public lectures upon the Latin poets. At the last mentioned city Badius commenced his typographical career as a corrector of the press in the establishment of Jean Treschel, a German, "cujus stipendiis utebatur," as Guagin said: but probably this employment was not incompatible with the duties of his literary professorship. After the death of Treschel, he married his daughter, and removed to Paris.

Maittaire, after Chevillier and others, (in his Historia Typographorum Parisiensium,) supposes him to have entered upon his typographical labours there *anno* 1500: and the "Philobiblion" of that great lover of books Richard de Bury, (who was chancellor of England and bishop of Durham, about the middle of the XIVth century,) has been considered as the first-fruits of his press. But the more diligent researches of Panzer seem to shew, that an impression *anno* 1495, is extant, viz. *Angeli Politiani Orationes quædam*, 4to, *ex ædibus Ascensianis*. If this impression, which he mentions on the authority of the Bodleian Catalogue, be dubious, I shall not insist upon the *Elegantiæ Laurentii Vallæ*, to which Panzer prefixes an asterisk: but the following are given by him on the authority of Maittaire's own *Annales*, a work subsequent to his *Historia Typographor. Parisiensium*, and therefore more exact: 1. *Roberti Gaguini libellus de conceptione Virginis, cum aliis opusculis; Par. typis Badii*, 1498, 4to.—2. *Jacobi Perezii expositio in Canticum Canticorum, &c. Par. per Ascensium*, 1498, in fol.—Badius, then, began to print at Paris not later than 1498[a], at which time Gering was still living, and

[a] His commencements there are certainly involved in some obscurity. Badius himself dates his "Stultiferæ naviculæ seu scaphæ fatuarum mulierum" (printed in 1502) thus "Vale. "ex Lugduno, 1498, quarto idus Septembris."

together with several others of the earliest typographers of Paris actively exercising the profession. La Caille considers him at this period in the double character of a Professor and Typographer: but he at length probably relinquished the chair entirely, and confined his labours to the press; which under his direction became more fruitful than any of those which were prior, and the greater part of such as were posterior, in their establishment.

The impressions of Badius, which Panzer has recorded, amount in number to nearly four hundred, the greater part of which are folios and quartos. If this be multiplied by any probable average number of the copies of each, the result will give a consumption of ink and paper, prodigious and almost incredible. Amongst the works which issued from this prolific press, we find almost every important Latin classic author, generally exhibited in a large size, and having the pages filled with notes, or *explanationes*, by Badius himself and other commentators. These elaborate volumes which were useful at the time are now neglected: and it is only in a few other descriptions of the *impressiones Ascensianæ* that modern book-collectors manifest an interest. Amongst them may be mentioned various historical works of authors of the middle or more recent ages; such as, 1. *Fratris Humberti Montismore-*

tani Bellum Britannicum a Carolo VII. Francorum rege, in Henricum Anglorum regem, auspice puella franca gestum, prima pars &c. 4to. 1512. Of this curious history or chronicle composed in Latin verse, and recording the exploits of the maid of Orleans, Du Fresnoy acknowledges no other edition. *Danorum regum heroumque historiæ a Saxone Grammatico conscriptæ;* 4to. 1514: of which well-known and esteemed work this is the earliest, but that *Joannis Stephanii, in fol. Soræ,* 1644, is the best edition. *Antonii Æmonis de regum procerumque Francorum origine gestisque clarissimis usque ad Philippum Augustum, Libri V.* fol. 1514. This is the *editio princeps:* it was republished at Paris, 1603, in fol. and in the collections of Freherus and Du Chesne. This Áimoin, a monk of St. Germain, was living anno 1040, and terminates his history at the year 654. It is said to be an ill-digested compilation, full of fables and legends. *Luitprandi rerum gestarum per Europam ipsius præsertim temporibus Libri VI.* fol. 1514. This chronicle, from the year of Christ 606, to 960, was reprinted with the author's other works, *Antverpiæ,* 1640, in fol. Luitprandus, who was bishop of Cremona, flourished about the middle of the tenth century. *Britanniæ utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta a Galfrido Monemutensi, &c.:* 4to. 1508. *iterum* 1517. 4to. Geoffry of Monmouth, an historian much under-

valued by some foreigners, is highly eulogized by Bale, and prized by those who are studious of ancient British history. *Hectoris Boethii Scotorum Historiæ. &c. fol.* 1526. *et iterum fol. sine anno.* Hector Boethius (Deidonanus or of Dundee), of a noble family, wrote in the sixteenth century, and stood high in the opinion of the learned of his time. Erasmus formed an intimate acquaintance with him at Paris, *circa ann.* 1497. and speaks with great praise of his talents and eloquence. His history commences with the origin of the Scottish nation, and is continued to the time of James II. whose reign commenced anno 1436. *Joannis Majoris Historia majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ;* 4to. 1521. This history of Britain in six books extends to the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon. The author, by birth a Scotchman and a theologian by profession, is said to have resided for a time at Cambridge. He afterwards became a professor at St. Andrew's in Scotland, where the celebrated GEORGE BUCHANAN studied under him logic, or *la sophistique*, in 1524. In the following year Major removed to Paris, and established himself in the college of Montaigu. Thither also Buchanan followed or attended him, though apparently not impressed with the highest respect for his preceptor's talents: who having published some book or other in the title of which

he professed himself "solo cognomine Majorem," (Major by surname only), Buchanan exhibited his juvenile talent by the following sarcastic epigram:

In Joannem solo cognomine Majorem, ut ipse in fronte libri scripsit.

Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Major,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro:
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat;
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

When he proclaims himself thus clearly
As "Major" by cognomen merely,
Since trifles through the book abound,
And scarce a page of sense is found;
Full credit, sure, his word acquires,
For Cretans are not always liars.

Buchanan's life has been too often written to admit of much further illustration. His connexion however with the university of Paris cannot be uninteresting to our present inquiries. His first residence there commenced in his nineteenth year; and then or soon afterwards he began to think favourably of the doctrines of the reformation. At Paris he continued two years, scarce able to provide for his own subsistence: but at length procured an appointment in the college of S^te^. Barbe, and taught grammar there. After retaining this post three years he quitted Paris for a time, induced by other views. One of his elegies, whe-

ther referring to this or some subsequent period, is thus entitled: *Quam misera sit conditio docentium litteras humaniores Lutetiæ.* It is a poem of considerable length, in which (says Le Clerc) he very feelingly describes the wretchedness of regents and poets like himself, and threatens the Muses to abandon them.

> Quærite quem capiat jejuna cantus in umbra,
> Quærite qui pota carmina cantet aqua.

At the close, having expatiated on the penury of poets, he very pleasantly asks why Calliope has remained so long unmarried? and answers, because she was without a portion.

> Calliope longum cœlebs cur vixit in ævum?
> Nempe nihil dotis quod numeraret erat.

In 1539, threatened for his severe verses against the Cordeliers, and persecuted by cardinal Beaton archbishop of St. Andrew's, he again fled to Paris; but speedily removed thence to Bourges, where he is said to have taught in the university three years, and to have composed his Latin tragedies, which were represented by his scholars. But the enmity of cardinal Beaton pursued him continually; and he at length accepted an appointment at Coimbra, in a university newly established there by the king of Portugal. His voyage thither did not however take place till 1547; consequently an interval occurs, during which his

movements are not distinctly marked: but, by one of his elegies, he appears to have had the gout at Paris in 1544. I shall take occasion to cite part of the elegy itself in my notice of Charles Estienne.

For a time the circumstances of Buchanan wore at Coimbra a favourable aspect: but ultimately, after the decease of his patron André de la Govea, he became the object of persecution there, both for heretical sentiments, and more especially on account of his *Franciscanus*. He was thrown into the dungeon of the inquisition, and remained a prisoner a year and a half. Having been released on the express condition that he should place himself under the tuition of certain monks for the purpose of religious instruction, he continued with them for some time; but at length obtained from the king a passport for France. Eager to make the most of this propitious opportunity, he embarked in 1551, in a vessel of Candia bound for England; and arrived there in the reign of Edward VI. when protestantism first began to establish itself in that kingdom: but finding matters so unsettled as to be unfavourable to his continuance in Britain, he again passed over into France in 1552. I shall here terminate for the present my notice of Buchanan; intending to resume the mention of him in my account of Robert Estienne II. *sub anno* 1565.

To the preceding works of an historical description from the press of Badius, may be added —*B. Gregorii Turonensis Episcopi Historiarum Libri X*—his *Vitæ Patrum*—and several other historical treatises comprised in the same volume, fol. 1512, or, as Panzer thinks the true date should be, 1516;—and *Pauli Æmilii de rebus gestis francorum et regum Fr. Libri IV.* fol. 1536, and *iterum sine anno.* Without the aid of Gregory of Tours, says Du Fresnoy, the French would be ignorant of their early history. As to the work of P. Æmilius, who was an Italian scholar, a native of Verona, a canon of Paris, and survived till 1529, though not highly praised for its accuracy, it is considered as a fine specimen of classical composition.

To enumerate all the most remarkable theological works which Badius gave to the public would be inconvenient: but amongst them are several editions of *Regula S. Benedicti,* 8vo. 1500, and *sine anno—Directorium seu potius castigatorium Concubinariorum,* 4to, 1513—Various Opuscula on the singular controversy "de unica Magda-" lena," against Faber Stapulensis and Clictoveus, by Joannes Fischerus, (Roffensis Episcopus,) Natalis Beda, and others, 4to. *variis annis*—*Opera Thomæ a Campis,* (*cognomento Malleoli,*) fol. 1523—The voluminous controversial works of Thomas de Walden, or Netter, (an English-

man,) *contra Wiclefistas et eorum asseclas*, fol. *3 tomis*, 1521. 1523. 1530; this edition being, according to La Caille, valued on account of its variations from other impressions:—and *S. Brunonis* (*Carthusianorum fundatoris*) *Opera*, fol. 1524. S. Bruno was the founder of the order of Carthusian monks; and his own retreat has been in legendary history attributed to the effect produced on his mind, by the resuscitation of a canon of Notre Dame *anno* 1084. During the performance of the solemn office for the dead, this canon is said to have risen up on the bier, and to have uttered words of appalling import. This edition of the works of S. Bruno by Badius is described as the only one, in which this strange story of the canon is represented by small engravings on wood; on which account it has been much in request, and is now very rare.

Lastly, it may be mentioned to the high honour of our printer's presumed orthodoxy, that he was employed by the university in giving birth to those censorial works, which at this time it sent forth *ex cathedra;* such as *Determinationes Theologicæ Facultatis Parisiensis super doctrina Lutheri*, 4to, 1521—*Determinationes, &c. super quamplurimis assertionibus Lutheri*, 1523. fol. 1531, 8vo, and the like.

Other singularities of the Badian Press may be included under the general name of Miscellanies.

Amongst them I shall place *Richardi de Bury Philobiblion*, 4to. 1500—*Navis stultiferæ collectanea ab Jodoco Badio vario carminum genere non sine eorundem familiari explanatione conflata*, 4to. 1507—otherwise; *Navis stultifera a Sebast. Brandt primum ædificata, et demum ab Jod. Badio vario carminum genere illustrata*, 4to. 1505. 1507. *cum figg.* Of the variations of these *Naves stultiferæ*, the claims of Badius to the authorship of some of them, and his French translation of Brandt's original work, *La Nef des Folz du monde*, &c. given to the public not by Badius himself but by other Parisian printers, I have already spoken much at length in my "Annals "of the Parisian Gothic Press," pp. 168, seqq—*Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter explanata*, 4to. 1511, by Thomas Walleys or Gualensis, otherwise denominated Thomas Anglicus, a Dominican; who distinguished himself as a writer and disputant in the fourteenth century, and was imprisoned by Pope John XXIII. in 1332, for asserting contrary to that Pope's approbation, "claram Dei visionem in beatis ante diem ulti-"mum." (Vid. Bale.)—*Francisci Barbari de re uxoria Libri II.* 4to. 1513; and *iterum* 1514: a book now considered as a great rarity—*Joannis Neustrii Archithrenius summa diligentia recognitus*, 4to. 1517. This author, whom the preceding title makes a Norman, was in reality John

Hanville or Hantville, a monk of S. Alban's, in the reign of King John, circa 1200. His *Archithrenius*, a poem in which the vices of mankind are deplored and lamented, has been placed upon the same footing, for the purity and elegance of its Latinity, with that of his celebrated countryman Josephus Iscanus, or Joseph of Exeter. (See *Annals ut supra*, p. 109.)—*Octavii Cleophili libellus de coetu Poetarum*, 4to. 1519. This (as well as the last mentioned) I presume is of very rare occurrence. From the press of Badius issued also impressions, at various times renewed, both of the *Epistolæ*, and the *Opera omnia Angeli Politiani*, fol. and 4to—*Petri Criniti Opera omnia*, fol. 1510. 1525—*Christophori Longolii Orationes et Epistolæ*, 8vo. 1526. 1530. 1533—*Laurentii Vallæ Opera varia;* all works of considerable interest at the present time. But more especially may it be considered as a proof of the high professional reputation of this typographer, that he was employed by Gulielmus Budæus, that colossal prodigy of self-acquired erudition, to execute all or most of the "editiones primariæ" of his profound lucubrations. Of Budæus *De Asse* he gave the first impression *anno* 1514; and it was repeated in 1516. 24. 27. 32. fol.: his *Annotationes in Pandectas*, fol. 1524. 1526. and *sine anno;* his *Epistolæ*, 4to. 1520; *Epistolæ posteriores*, 4to. 1522; *Tusani Annotata in Bu-*

dæi Epistolas, 4to. 1526; and the entire collection both of the Latin and the Greek *Epistolæ* of this scholar, fol. 1531: other minor treatises of his, viz. *De Contemptu rerum fortuitarum*, 4to. 1520. 26. 28. and *sine anno;* and *De Studio litterarum recte & commode instituendo*, 4to. 1532. Some of these minor works of Guillaume Budé from the *prelum Ascensianum* are printed in a bold and agreeable Roman character, and may deservedly be ranked among the most finished specimens of the art. Of yet more especial mention is that greatest work of Budæus deserving, which was printed for the first time by Badius, viz. *Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ*, fol. 1528: the typographic accuracy and beauty of the impression corresponding with the intrinsic excellence of the work. I need not here enumerate the few Greek impressions by Badius, of which the *Epistolæ et Commentarii* of Budæus may be said to form a part, as they are noticed in my chronological series of Parisian Greek impressions. I conclude therefore by mentioning Lyndewode's *Provinciale, anni* 1506, in fol. which La Caille ascribes to the press of Badius, and terms a great typographical curiosity. Badius evidently had much to do with this impression, which is a very superb specimen *en rouge et noir*, executed in France at the charge of the merchant William Bretton, for sale in London; and is equal, *suo*

genere, in perfection and decoration perhaps to any the French Gothic press has produced. But though Badius was the reviser and wrote the prefatory addresses, the technical part was performed by Gulielmus Hopyll.

Badius was a *Libraire Juré* of the University, under which character he was specially employed by the doctors of the Sorbonne in the manner I have shewn. His claims to the character of erudition were so far from contemptible, that Trithemius praises him extravagantly; and Erasmus has spoken well of his Latinity in the *Ciceronianus, et alibi;* and even (though not without great offence of the learned, and suspicion of invidious motives) compares him with Budæus. Besides the *Navicula Stultarum Mulierum,* I find other original works ascribed to his pen, viz. *Silva moralis contra vitia,* fol. 1492; *Epigrammatum Liber; Vita Thomæ a Campis;* and no doubt others might be added.

The affinity, contracted between the families of Badius and of H. Stephanus or Estienne, is thus explained. By Thelif, daughter of Joannes Treschel and wife of Jodocus Badius, he had three daughters. Petronilla became the wife of Robertus Stephanus, and mother of Henricus Stephanus the second, and of two other sons, Robert and Francis. Badius gave his second daughter Joanna to Joannes Roigny, and the youngest

Catharina to Michael Vascosanus, both printers of eminence. Jodocus had also a brother named Joannes, and a son named Conradus, who both exercised the same profession. The latter is found subsequently as a refugee for the sake of religion at Geneva, and labouring in his profession there conjointly with R. Stephanus.

Badius probably survived *ad ann.* 1536, and was succeeded in his *Imprimerie* by his son-in-law Jean de Roigny, who is stated (at least upon some occasions) to have assumed the *insigne* or mark of his office, *prelum Ascensianum;* though during the lifetime of Badius, de Roigny is known to have used a device of his own.

The following nominal sepulchral inscription in memory of Badius is from the pen of Henry Estienne his grandson, and may be found in the tract entitled *Artis Typographicæ Querimonia.*

JODOCI BADII EPITAPHIUM.

HIC liberorum plurimorum qui Parens,
Parens librorum plurimorum qui fuit,
Situs JODOCUS BADIUS est ASCENSIUS.
Plures fuerunt liberis tamen libri,
Quod jam senescens cœpit illos gignere,
Ætate florens cœpit hos quod edere.

But this may be considered merely as one of those fugitive *verborum lusus,* in which the fancy of H. Stephanus was more prolific than happy: and the epitaph really inscribed on the tomb of Badius

is recorded by Maittaire in his *Historia Typographorum Parisiensium*, p. 29. *seq.*

The *Insigne* or MARK of Badius is, as we have already signified, the representation of an ancient printing press, beneath which we sometimes find the words PRELUM ASCENSIANUM. He occasionally subjoined this sentence, ÆRA MERENT BADIO, probably in allusion to a passage of Horace, "Hic meret æra liber Sosiis:" *Ars Poetica* v. 345. But La Caille says he sometimes has observed in his titles the sentence thus varied and extended: ÆRE MERET BADIUS LAUDEM AUCTORUM ARTE LEGENTUM—which perhaps, being intended to perplex at first sight the young students of the university, can upon filling up the ellipsis be no otherwise interpreted, than that Badius by his liberality conciliates the praise of authors, and by his typographic skill and accuracy that of readers.

As in the preceding account of the press of Badius mention has been made of the celebrated French scholar BUDÆUS, and of the earliest impressions of his various works, some further particulars concerning him in this place may not be unacceptable. He was a native of Paris: his family was considered ancient and honourable, and some of his ancestors had filled offices of high dignity. The father of Budæus was moderately rich.

As the Parisian schools then afforded few facilities of sound instruction, after a very superficial initiation in the Latin language he was sent to Orleans to study the civil law, but, through want of previous education, to very little purpose. On being recalled home, unmindful of study he indulged himself in such pleasures as young men are generally fond of. But his aberrations of this kind were only temporary. He soon changed his lighter pursuits for ardent study and an incredible love of literature: and his application became so excessive as to produce not only a disinclination to all pleasurable enjoyment, but a total disregard of health and natural rest.

Budæus became the first instance among his countrymen of self-acquired learning: but like others in such circumstances he experienced great inconvenience and disadvantages in the want of an able preceptor, to direct him in the choice of authors, and to regulate his studies. He read with equal diligence books of sterling value, and those which were good for nothing; consequently his memory was loaded with a mixed and confused mass of knowledge of both kinds: and when he found his error, it was no easy task to remedy it. But this he at length resolved to do by reading the most approved authors, and Cicero in particular, without note or comment; and, by frequent retrospection and comparing passages, making

them their own expositors. By this method in a few years, in private and without the aid of instructors, he acquired an extraordinary familiarity with the Latin classics, both orators, poets, and historians.

To make himself master of Greek literature was also an object of his eager ambition. But here the want of preceptors was still more felt. Greek learning, as we have seen, was almost unknown in the French capital; to many, an object of suspicion, and to some of detestation. But about this period there arrived at Paris a certain native of Greece by name Georgius Hermonymus, who called himself a Lacedæmonian. This man, though really of very moderate attainments in learning, having the reputation of understanding Greek, was gazed upon with wonder. His assistance in Greek studies Budæus with great eagerness engaged, at an expense from first to last of more than five hundred crowns. Under this Greek he applied himself to the study of the language some years; and eagerly listened to his pretended elucidations, and lectures on the works of Homer, from which he derived little or no actual improvement.

Soon afterwards, Janus Lascaris appeared in France; a noble Greek of high character and attainments, infinitely superior to Hermonymus; who, perceiving the taste of Budæus for Greek

literature, was liberally inclined to render him advice and assistance, as far as his diplomatic engagements would permit; but he, being much engaged at court or in distant embassies, could devote but few intervals to the private instruction of Budæus: he politely gave him however such as opportunity would permit, and allowed him the use of his own choicest books and manuscripts. In the acquisition also of mathematical science Budæus was assisted by Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, the most eminent professor of the times in that department; whose services he liberally remunerated, and whose powers and readiness of communicating knowledge he anticipated by his eagerness in study, and quickness of apprehension. As for Lascaris, so much was he struck with admiration of the attainments and facility of Budæus in the Greek language, that he is said to have applied to him the compliment formerly paid by Apollonius to Cicero; observing that, in the present fallen state of Greece, learning and eloquence, its solely-remaining possessions, had by Budæus no less successfully been transferred to France, than, when formerly the same nation was drooping under a similar languor, they had by Cicero been conveyed thence to Rome.

The biographer of Budæus relates that Christophorus Longolius, practising jurisprudence at Paris, earnestly applied to Budæus to render him

instruction in Greek: but that, he excusing himself on account of his own private engagements, Longolius thought his refusal originated in jealousy, and a wish to keep to himself this species of recondite learning, as it was then considered. With Lazarus Bayfius he resolved to go to Rome, to perfect there his Greek studies; expecting he should thus be soon able to surpass Budæus in proficiency. After five years' application there under the ablest Greek masters, conceiving his object accomplished, he ostentatiously addressed to Budæus from thence an elaborate Greek epistle: to which the Parisian scholar replied with such facility and accuracy, that Longolius relinquished all thoughts of further rivalship in complete despair; and was constrained to limit his ambition for the future to the aim at excellency as a Ciceronian. And thus two young men of distinguished talents, with every facility from age, leisure, emulation, pecuniary means, travel and instruction, failed in that object which Budæus accomplished in the privacy of home, almost without instructors, and having embarked in literary pursuits comparatively late in life.

But, for the tardiness of his commencement in these pursuits, Budæus certainly compensated by an ardour, diligence, and perseverance in study, which his biographer multiplies the most emphatic terms in describing; never suffering himself to be

abstracted from them by considerations of health, personal indulgence, domestic business, or any other care. Whatever book he had taken up for perusal, no obscurity deterred him; no variety induced him to lay it aside, till he had arrived at the end of it. His extraordinary application happening to be mentioned in the presence of king Francis, one of the courtiers observed that, though he had himself for the space of ten years occupied a house opposite to that of Budæus, and commanding a view of it, during all that time he had never seen him indulging in any relaxation, gazing upon strangers, or taking an evening walk like others: which account was confirmed by his own acknowledgment.

Even on the day of his marriage he is said to have devoted some hours to his beloved studies: and if, on any particular day unavoidable business had withdrawn him from them, he never failed to make up the deficiency, by devoting an additional part of the night to reading, and proportionably less to sleep. Though acknowledged to have been an affectionate husband and a fond parent, yet he allowed no endearments arising from these relations to abstract him from his literary pursuits. Every day found him closely engaged in them from the hour of rising till dinner: but immediately before he sate down to table he walked a little. Two hours after the principal meal were

given to conversation; and he then resumed his studious occupations. His supper hour was late; and it was his general practice to write or to read afterwards. His table was frugal; his diet abstemious.

Such were his powers of memory, that what he had once learned or known, he never forgot: and he was sometimes observed to repeat long passages, which he had not read of many years, not only agreeably to the sense but in the very words of their authors. By persevering in the systematic application before described, he is said to have perused all the writers of Greek and Roman antiquity; and to have acquired an extensive knowledge of all the sciences then held in estimation. But far from being ostentatious of his learning, he seemed rather studious to conceal it; and seldom opened the stores of his knowledge, unless when consulted, and at the request of his friends.

As Budæus thus appeared unremittingly devoted to study to the extreme hazard of his personal health, his father and his friends were frequent and urgent in their remonstrances, which however were unavailing. At length therefore, the apprehended effects of excessive thought and application began to shew themselves. He lost his former spirits and cheerfulness, and became dejected and unsociable. His hair fell off, his countenance was pale, and his body emaciated:

and a settled malady, of a species then novel and surprising to his physicians, but which was probably a hypochondria of the most distressing kind, tormented him at frequently-recurring periods for the space of twenty years. Alarming affections of the head, and a frequent sense of stupor and drowsiness, increased the catalogue of his infirmities, and proved the bitterest annoyance of his studious hours: to relieve which, his medical advisers vainly had recourse to severe measures, and even to cauterizing the integuments of the cranium with a hot iron. Yet, what is most surprising, we are assured that, in the midst of all these bodily sufferings, Budæus commenced, finished, and published his most elaborate works.

He began with various translations from Plutarch into the Latin language. Having in this way perfected his knowledge of the Greek, and acquired a facility of phrase and expression in the Latin language, he speedily engaged in works of deep erudition, to which his genius seems to have been especially inclined. Such were his *Annotationes in Pandectas*, and other observations relating to ancient jurisprudence: but more especially his renowned treatise *De Asse et Partibus ejus;* in which by a profound and diffusive investigation of ancient money, weights, and measures, and of the most difficult questions connected with those abstruse points, which had hitherto perplexed

and baffled the most eminent scholars, he acquired for himself the appellation of the prodigy of France, and excited the astonishment and envy of all the learned. Some of those of Italy evinced their high opinion of his discoveries by introducing several of them into their own works, and then claiming the original invention. Such treatment at first excited the warm indignation of Budæus, who prepared for them the severe chastisement which their conduct merited: yet such was the kindness of his temper, that he was easily persuaded to suppress the angry remarks, which he had intended to introduce into the re-impression of his great work, and to leave his plagiarists and their claims to the dispassionate judgment of others.

His *Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ* has been generally acknowledged as a production of immense erudition; and continues to possess the suffrages of the learned of our own fastidious times. Composed on a plan entirely novel and extraordinary, it diffusively exhibits the richness of the Greek tongue, and its affinity with the Latin; but is more especially adapted for the illustration of the Greek orators and forensic proceedings, and, in conjunction with them, of the Latin also.

The Epistles and Orations of Budæus are extant; many of them written wholly in the Greek language; and the rest so copiously interspersed

with Greek, as to give them an appearance of pedantry. Other works of his were, as we have seen, *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum; De contemptu Rerum fortuitarum; De Philologia; De studio literarum rite instituendo.* In the *Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscript. &c.* tom. III. p. 535, mention is made of a copy of the Florentine Homer, *anni* 1488, once the property of Budæus, the margins of which were filled with MS. notes by his hand. Of his style, various, and by some, severe judgments have been formed. He has been termed *felicissimus quidem sed audacissimus in novandis vocabulis;* and a great inventor of Latin phrases in particular, to designate things unknown to a classic age. M. de la Monnoye not only accuses him of an affected obscurity, but even of concealing beneath a pompous phraseology, thoughts and meanings of little consequence. This looks like the assertion of a person put out of temper by the perplexing and enigmatical character of the author he is perusing: but in all his writings Budæus certainly affects an originality of thought, an elevation of language, and a choice of words and phrases, as remote from every thing trivial and common as possible; so that his diction as well as his subjects can be comprehended by the learned only. "Dum "in medio posita nimium refugit, longinqua pro- "sequitur; dum Græca profusius admiscet, dum

" metuit ne quid in verbis & sententiis aut tri-
" tum aut vulgare aut commune colligat, dum
" uni gravitati studet, nec suam copiam temperat,
" dum stylum ad humilitatem vulgi non vult de-
" ducere, dum ubique sublimis & grandiloquus
" cupit haberi, plerisque visus est nescio quid tra-
" gicum & confragosum personare [b]."

Although, therefore, between Budæus and Erasmus invidious comparisons were made, and perhaps a species of jealousy was excited, rather by the officiousness of others than by any rivalry of their own; yet nothing can be more dissimilar than the style and character of their respective works. Being a self-taught scholar, Budæus conformed his taste and diction to no model: so that perhaps no other author of those times so strikingly exhibits the unchastised energy of a bold and vigorous and original mind. His very obscurity was rather affected than the contrary: for when admonished by his friends, " ut paulum se demitteret," we are told he answered, " quod sit alicubi obscurus, de " industria factum: sua retulisse id temporis quo " scribebat, ut intelligeretur a paucis." Longolius however wrote a long and laboured epistle, in which he pretends to bring into a close and direct comparison, or rather contrast, the genius, style, and literary qualifications of each of these dis-

[b] Lodov. Regius, in Vita ejus.

tinguished men: an undertaking to which he was perhaps stimulated principally by a wish to display his own ingenuity, and by the interest of the subject to bring into general notice a specimen of fine Latinity.

In his domestic establishment Budæus is said to have combined elegance with economy. He had great simplicity of manners, evinced a strong predilection for retirement, and, in his few intervals of leisure, for the innocent amusements of a rural life. He possessed an elegant residence in the city of Paris; but his favourite retreats were two suburban villas, which he terms *Sammaureana* and *Marliana*. Both these he had been studious to ornament with appropriate structures and decorations: so that jestingly, in an epistle to Erasmus, he terms them *villas prope Lucullianas;* and in his *Liber de Asse*, says of the former, "sibi instar amœni cujuspiam Tusculani fuisse." The gravity and dignity of his carriage were tempered by suavity and candour. His disinterestedness and integrity were universally acknowledged: neither was he indifferent to religion, but duly observant of its duties, and fond of the topics and meditations connected with it; particularly in his declining age. But from the questions of controversy which were agitated in his time, he appears to have kept aloof; studiously concealing his

private sentiments[c]: hence in that period when superior erudition was considered almost as a certain indication of heterodoxy, and Greek learning more especially was stigmatized as the fruitful seed-plot of all heresy and mischief, the character of Budæus remained free from suspicion. In those adverse times, elegant literature, and more especially Greek erudition, found in France their chief support under his name and sanction.

Budæus became known as a distinguished scholar in the reign of Charles VIII. into whose court he was introduced, and by whom he was particularly caressed. To Louis XII. he was also highly acceptable, and received from him many marks of distinction; and was twice employed by him in important embassies. On the accession of Francis I. he was induced to renew his connection with the court; from which he had previously shewn an inclination to retire. He was first summoned by Francis to attend him to the celebrated place of meeting between him and Henry VIII. near the castle of Arde, and Guisnes, by some denominated the field of cloth of gold. This happened in 1520. Budæus was thenceforward so much about the

[c] He speaks indeed with marked disapprobation of the religious innovations of the time, in his work *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum*, but in a style so enigmatical as to render his objections harmless.

king's person as to attend him in some of his military expeditions, though now advanced in years; having been born anno 1467. It was remarked as a happy coincidence, that when France had a prince favourably disposed beyond all precedent to the patronage of classical learning, and the fine arts and liberal sciences, it should at the same time possess such a scholar as Budæus; both to advise him in his plans for their advancement, and to inflame his ardour for their accomplishment. As the king took great pleasure in listening to the learned discourses of Budæus, the distinction paid him by the monarch drew upon him also the most respectful attention of all the courtiers; namely, both of those who really loved learning, and of those who pretended merely to do so. Francis committed to him the superintendence of the royal library; and soon afterwards appointed him *Maître des Requêtes*, which was one of the highest honours of the French court. The patent of this appointment was sent to him by the king in the most obliging manner, together with a letter from his own hand, in which he bade him expect further marks of the royal favour. The Parisians were equally forward and gratuitous in conferring on him some of their most conspicuous civic honours. All these marks of respect and veneration, paid to learning in his person, stimulated Budæus to redouble his ex-

ertions in favour of literature, and to procure for it at Paris liberal encouragement and a permanent habitation.

A notice of Budæus occurs in *l'Histoire de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions*, &c. tom. III. 1731, 12mo. The author was M. Boivin. It furnishes a few particulars which have in part been elsewhere less perfectly detailed. Such are those which follow.

He was born at Paris in 1467: his father was Jean Budé, his mother Catherine le Picart. He was first introduced to the court of Charles VIII. then to that of Louis XII. employed by him as ambassador in Italy, and made *Secrétaire du Roi*, which obliged him to attend constantly on the king's person. The then *vie errante* of courtiers was disagreeable to him. He quitted the court without intention to return; but was recalled thither by the special invitation of Francis I. and attended that king in all his travels and in some of his campaigns. His usual time of conversing with him was during his repasts; and the subjects generally were Greek or Roman antiquities, or the most interesting parts of literature, sacred and profane. He was created "Maître de la Librairie," "Maître des Requêtes," and at length "Prevôt "des Marchands de la ville de Paris."

There was then no other royal library than that of Blois, founded by Charles Duc d'Or-

leans, and so much enriched by Louis XII. his son, that in his reign it was considered amongst the choicest curiosities of France. Lascaris and Budé suggested to Francis I. the project of establishing that of Fontainebleau. The former is said to have presented various Greek manuscripts, which with others by several means acquired, were deposited there. Lascaris ascribed to Budæus the merit of the foundation in these lines:

> Augusti ut Varro—Francisci Bibliothecam
> Auget Budæus, Palladis auspiciis.

Perceiving that his favour at the French court excited envy and produced enemies, he retired a second time after the death of the chancellor Duprat: but was again persuaded by Poyet to return. Having followed the king in a progress along the coasts of Normandy, during the hottest part of the summer of 1540, he became dangerously ill; was brought back to Paris, and died there, Aug. 24th of the same year.

He gave strict orders that his funeral should be celebrated without pomp. The observance of this charge gave rise to the following epigram, *par demandes & par réponses*, of Melin de S. Gelais:

D. Qui est ce corps que si grand peuple suit?
R. Las! c'est Budé au cercueil étendu.

D. Que ne font donc les cloches plus grand bruit ?
R. Son bruit sans cloches est assez épandu.
D. Que n'a-t-on plus en torches dépendu,
Suivant la mode accoutumée & sainte ?
R. Afin qu'il soit par obscur entendu
Que des François la lumière est éteinte.

D. WHOM now extinct do countless followers mourn ?
R. Alas ! BUDÆUS, on the bier extended.
D. Why are the fane's knell-wafting sounds forborne ?
R. On wider flights his fair fame is suspended.
D. On torches why no liberal sums expended,
As custom bids, and holy funeral rite ?
R. 'Tis by the solemn veil of night intended,
To mark the extinction sad of Gallia's light.

Budæus says in one of his letters, that his father (a person of rank and fortune) was "libro-"rum emacissimus," a great buyer of books: yet about the year 1528, when the celebrated Jacobus Sadoletus had asked for a list of the Greek books which he (Budæus the younger) had in his library, he answers: "rubore me suffusum esse "scito, quippe qui nullos alios libros habeam, "præter eos qui in chalcographorum officinis hac-"tenus passim pervagati sunt, ne hujusmodi qui-"dem omnes." He had attained the age of sixty-one, when he wrote thus. After the decease of Budæus, le President de S. André bought his library, and added it to his own. It subsequently passed into the hands of the Jesuits of the col-

lege of Clermont, who retained it till they quitted France. Afterwards the books which they had collected or possessed were entirely dispersed. *Hist. de l'Acad. Royale,* tom. III. p. 536.

CHAPTER III.

HENRICUS STEPHANUS I.—LATIN IMPRESSIONS BY HIM SPECIFIED FROM 1496 TO 1520—CHARACTER OF HIS PRESS—SIMON COLINÆUS—CLASSICAL AND OTHER IMPRESSIONS BY HIM FROM 1520 TO 1550—ESTIMATION AND CHARACTER.

HENRICUS STEPHANUS, or HENRY ESTIENNE the elder, would be an interesting subject of our curiosity, even if he had no other claims upon it than as the founder of an illustrious and most distinguished family of printers; and more especially as the father of Francis, Robert, and Charles, all conspicuous as scholars, and as artists in the same profession. But the memorials of his personal history are scanty and uncertain. Neither is it easy to ascertain the precise date of his professional commencement. The chronological precedence as an artist is probably due to Jodocus Badius Ascensius: at least in so considering it I follow the example of Panzer.

I observe the name of this Henry Estienne, as a printer of the university of Paris, in conjunction with that of Wolffgang Hopyll, in the year 1496.

In Panzer's list (article 379) of that period, *Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis Artificialis introductio moralis in X libros ethicos Aristotelis* thus concludes: *Absoluta in alma Parhisiorum academia per Wolffgangum Hopilium et Henricum Stephanum, socios,* 1496. It is remarkable, that no further notice of him occurs in Panzer's series till the year 1502. But in that year his name is again subjoined to an impression of the same work, viz. the *Artificialis Introductio, &c.; Panzer,* tom. VIII. p. 504. art. 35; the colophon thus given: *Impressum, &c. per Wolffgangum et Henricum Stephanum in formularia librorum arte socios. Invenitur venale in officina Cuniculorum juxta scholam decretorum;* fol.

In the impression of some particular works, the name of Henry Estienne the elder is found occasionally in conjunction with those of Jean Petit, of Denis Roce, and of Jodocus Badius, respectively. But as a separate printer he appears first in an impression of the *Ethica Aristotelis,* translated by Leonardus Aretinus, and in some other treatises of Aristotle, *Latine,* anno 1504: subscribing thus: *per Henricum Stephanum in vico clausi Brunelli e regione scholæ decretorum:* and Panzer has enumerated more than one hundred distinct impressions by him.

The productions of his press are not in general remarkably superior to those of his contemporaries,

either in point of intrinsic interest and merit, or of professional execution. They are for the most part such as might be expected from an age of so rude a character. His types were commonly those which are denominated Roman: and such as Maittaire considers not inelegant for that period. But sometimes he employed a species of semi-gothic and abbreviated characters, founded in imitation of manuscripts, and much in use among the early printers of Paris. Maittaire terms them, " deteriores & compendiosiores, figuram exhibentes " literarum quæ in manuscriptis usurpantur."

From a review of the productions of the first Henry Estienne's press, as enumerated by Maittaire and Panzer, it will appear, that three several scholars of this period found almost exclusive employment for his professional exertions, by works of which they were either the original authors, or at least the avowed editors. These were Carolus Bovillus (Charles Boville), Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jaques le Fevre d'Estaples), and Jodocus Clictovæus (Josse Clictou), a doctor of the Sorbonne. Of the first I have hitherto met with no biographical notices: of the second I shall make further mention in the course of this brief memoir, and occasionally in other parts of my present work: and of the third some account will be given in that part of this section which relates to Simon de Colines. It would be neither gratify-

ing to myself nor to my readers, to transcribe from the pages of Panzer or Maittaire a series of dry and scholastic titles, indicative of books which have long ceased to excite either curiosity or interest. Of the impressions therefore of Henry Estienne the first, and even of those of Simon de Colines his successor, which are confessedly more generally important, I propose to particularize comparatively a few only: I mean such as are or seem to be most remarkable for the singularity of their subjects; or at least suffice to illustrate the general character of each distinct press.

1505. *Pimander, Mercurii Trismegisti liber de sapientia & potestate Dei. Asclepius. Ejusdem Mercurii liber de voluntate divina. Item Crater Hermetis a Lazarello Septempedano. Parisiis in officina Henrici Stephani,* 4to. The editor of this volume was Jacobus Faber S. It is inscribed *sacro antistiti Guillermo Briconneto Episcopo Lodovensi.* Jacobus Solidus Cracoviensis and Volgacius Pratensis are named as then correctors of Henry Estienne's press. The part of the work entitled *Crater Hermetis* is a Latin dialogue: the author Loys Lazarol. A French translation entitled *Le Bassin d'Hermès ou la manière de connoître Dieu et soi méme,* appeared at Paris in 1557, 8vo. The original is addressed to Ferdinand, king of Naples, who died Jan. 25, 1494.

1507. *Theologia Damasceni...interprete Jacobo Fabro Stapulensi;* 4to: *Sphæra Johannis de Sacro Bosco, &c. præcedit Præfatio J. Fabri Stapulensis;* fol.: *Epistolæ Apostolorum et Apocalypsis;* 8vo.

1508. *Quincuplex Psalterium, Gallicum, Romanum, Hebraicum, Vetus, Conciliatum,* folio; *et iterum* 1514, fol. This work, exhibiting very copious notes by the editor, is remarkable as the production of a divine enlightened far beyond the measure of this barbarous period; as having been severely stigmatised in the *Index Librorum prohibitorum & expurgatorum;* as giving the first example of the use of Arabic cyphers to distinguish the verses of the sacred text; and as being probably the most magnificent production of the press of H. Stephanus the elder. It is indeed a fine specimen of the typographic art, printed *en rouge et noir, litteris rotundis,* on excellent paper; and exhibits an occasional use of Greek characters.

Jaques le Fevre, a native of Estaples in Picardy, editor of the *Quincuplex Psalterium,* was of humble origin, had his education in the university of Paris, and became a professor there: but his sentiments and lectures (not according with the bigotry of the times) soon rendered him obnoxious to the Sorbonne, as a favourer of heretical opinions. A fierce persecution was consequently ex-

cited against him, which would probably have brought his life into jeopardy, had he not escaped by the special interference of Francis I. himself; by whom his learning and merits were held in high estimation. After various changes of place, he at length found permanent security at Nérac, under the protection of the queen of Navarre: and died there in 1537, some say at the extreme age of one hundred and one years.

Those celebrated reformers, Calvin and Farrel, were scholars of this professor. A singular account is given by Freherus of his last conversation with the queen of Navarre; in which he is said to have lamented his own pusillanimity, in having shrunk from the crown of martyrdom for that truth, in which he had been the means of instructing and confirming others [a]. One of the offensive works of this author was, *De tribus Magdalenis & de unica Magdalena*, printed with various tracts on the same question, by H. Steph. I. in 1519, 4to; in which work, with the Greek fathers, he maintains that Mary, the sister of Martha and of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene out of whom Jesus cast seven devils, and the "woman that was "a sinner," were all distinct persons. The Latin fathers will have them to be the same, and the Sorbonne adopted their opinion: and such was

[a] Freheri Theatrum virorum eruditione claror.

the heresy which they made the pretext of his earliest persecution[b].

1509. *Ricoldi, Ord. Prædicat. contra sectam Mahumeticam libellus, per Bartholomæum Picernum e Græco in Latinum conversus; & cujusdam, diu captivi Turcorum provinciæ septem-Castrensis, de vita et moribus eorundem libellus;* 4to; dedicated by the editor Faber Stapulensis to Guillaume Petit. This work re-issued from H. Estienne's press, *anno* 1511, with the addition of a tract *De vita & moribus Judæorum,* by Victor de Carben, a converted Jew: *olim Judæus nunc Christi miseratione Christianus:* and in fine, *nunc sacerdos Christianus, olim Judæus.*

1510. *Caroli Bovilli Opuscula. Liber de intellectu. Lib. de sensu. Lib. de nihilo. Ars oppositorum. Lib. de generatione. Lib. de sapiente. Lib. de XII. numeris. Epistolæ complures, insuper mathematicum opus quatripartit. de numeris perfectis, de mathematicis rotis, de geometricis corporibus, de geometricis supplementis;* fol. This collection is said in Dr. Heath's Catalogue, N°. 2985, to abound with curious woodcuts; and to have been bought at a high price for the king's library.

1512. *Antonini Itinerarium, ex recognitione Longolii;* 4to. This edition, printed *en rouge et*

[b] Voyez Gaillard. Hist. de Francis I.

noir, has (says Clement) much the advantage of the Aldine, Venet. 1518, 8vo; which is merely a bad copy of an incomplete MS. The Florentine edition (apud Juntas, 1526,) has the same imperfection, as well as that printed Lugduni, by S. Vincent. Longolius corrected this after good MSS.; and it was considered the best edition till that of H. Surita appeared, Col. Agr. 1600, in 8vo. Maittaire commends the edition of H. Steph. I. for its elegance, and says it is styled by Vossius "editionum "priorum omnium optima." CHRISTOPHORUS LONGOLIUS, (Longueil,) the editor, (already mentioned in my preceding notice of Budæus,) was a native of Malines in Brabant. He was honoured with the citizenship of Rome, and had the reputation of being the greatest orator and the most eloquent Latin writer of his time. In his later works more especially he adopted Cicero as his model, became a strenuous and accomplished Ciceronian, and was acknowledged as such even by Italian scholars [c].

1513. *Sigeberti Gemblacensis coenobitæ Chronicon ab anno* 381, *ad* 1113, *cum insertionibus ex historia Galfridi, & additionibus Roberti abbatis Montis* 108, *sequentes annos complectentibus, &c.; nunc primum in lucem emissum:* 4to.

[c] *Poli vita Longolii Orationibus & Epist. ejus præfixa. Flor. ap. Juntas.* 1524. in 8vo.

Sigebert was a monk of Gemblours. Though the style of his chronicle is uncouth, as might be expected from an author who died in 1112, it is allowed to contain particulars both interesting and authentic. His continuator, Robert Dumont, abbot of Mont S. Michel in the diocese of Avranches, is said to have been employed in affairs of importance by Henry II. of England. The best edition of Sigebert's chronicle is that Antverpiæ, 1608, in 4to. The addition above specified bears this title: *Roberti abbatis S. Mich. Chronicon ab anno* 1112, *ad ann.* 1220, *in quo præsertim de rebus Normannicis & Anglicis tam ecclesiasticis quam sæcularibus agitur.—Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium Virginum; excud. H. Steph. socio Joanne de Brie;* fol. *editore F. Stapulensi.* This collection of visions and mystical superstition exhibits by way of title a wood-cut in six compartments, which have relation severally to the different portions of the volume. The *tres viri* are Hermas, Uguetinus, and Fr. Robertus. The *virgines* are Hildegardis, Elizabeth, and Mechtildis. In this collection therefore, we actually find the earliest Latin edition of the book called *The Shepherd of Hermas;* concerning the existence of which some doubt has been expressed [d].

[d] Dibdin's Introd. V. 1. p. 175. Lond. 1827. 8vo.

1515. *S. Pauli Epistolæ XIV. ex vulgata editione, adjecta intelligentia ex Græco, cum commentariis Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis.* In fine: *Hoc opus, illustratore Christo qui lucet ubique etsi non capitur, absolutum est in coenobio Sancti Germani juxta Parisios anno Christi vitæ authoris quingentesimo & duodecimo supra millesimum, &c.* Annexed to the volume is *Lini Episcopi de passione Petri & Pauli liber, ex Græco in Latinum conversus;* fol.: repeated *Parisiis* 1517, *ap. Fr. Regnault,* fol. This commentary is largely censured in the *Index expurgatorius: ut supra— Officium diurnum Sanctimonialium juxta usum Fontis Ebraldi eliminatum,* 4to: curious as one of the specimens of old French rituals.

1518. *Horæ Canonicæ: Parisiis per Henricum Stephanum, sumptibus Briensis,* (*Joannis de Brie,*) 8vo: probably interesting for the same reason as the preceding; and because such books were generally decorated with a profusion of sculptures and typographic ornaments.

Maittaire also extols his impression of *Theodoritus de curatione Græcarum affectionum, Zenobio Acciajolo interprete;* 1519, fol. This work exhibits, intermingled with the Latin text, many passages in Greek characters; which Henry Estienne the elder seldom used in other impressions.

The same writer says, that he had no appro-

priate Mark or Device [e]. He does not seem however, to have formed any decisive opinion on this subject: for in his *Vita H. Steph. I.* he speaks thus: "fronti librorum sæpius affixit scutum "Franciæ, manu librum inter lilia quasi coelitus "demittente insignitum, binisque angelorum, aut "juvenum, aut hominum imaginibus cinctum, & "paulo inferius majusculas sui nominis literas "initiales H. S. vel nomen integrum HENRICUS "STEPHANUS:" referring in a note to a variety of his impressions as instances [f].

I have in a former work observed that he used the arms of the university, with this distinctive intention. He used them it is true, in common with one or two other Parisian typographers: but all uncertainty was removed by the initials of each, which were respectively added. With those arms he generally connected or intermixed other fanciful ornaments. Of such variety the *Quincuplex Psalterium*, before described, furnishes an amusing specimen; for there, the title being included by a circular ring, and externally by a capacious parallelogram, the space intervening, after exhibiting the *écu* or shield at the top supported by angels, and a blank shield at the bottom with like supporters, is completely filled up with a complicated festoon of flowers, interwoven by other an-

[e] Annales, tom. II. p. 87. [f] Vitæ Stephanor. p. 9.

gelic figures: the initials H. S. appearing within the verge of the ring. I shall mention one or two other varieties: for instance,

1. *De tribus fugiendis, ventre pluma & venere, libelli tres, multis probatorum authorum sententiis & exemplis referti;* 1512, 4to: the title in a circular compartment: above, *in vertice*, the arms of France, "liber coelitus demissus," &c.: on each side a half-length figure of an aged person; in different attitudes: beneath, a smaller ring or circle appended, with the initials H.S.: the whole included in an open parallelogram: the lower corners filled up with scroll-work.

2. *De vita & moribus Sacerdotum, singularem eorum dignitatem ostendens, & quibus ornati esse debent virtutibus. Par. ex officina H. Steph.* 1519, 4to. The title is inclosed in a circular compartment; the rest as the preceding; but no initials in the lower and smaller ring appended. The latter of these works is by Jodocus Clictoveus. Both are executed *litteris Gothicis.*

Henry Estienne the first is particularly distinguished by Chevillier for the general accuracy of his impressions, and the ingenuous concern expressed by him on the discovery of a few errors which had escaped timely observation. He introduces a list of twenty *errata*, subjoined to the Apologetic of Erasmus against Latomus, anni 1519, 4to, by this confession: "locis aliquot in-

" curia nostra aberratum est." On another occasion, having accidentally expressed the word *febris* by an *æ*, he makes this jocular apology: "foebrem " longam sibi Chalcographus delegit, tametsi fe- " bris correpta sit minus periculosa." On some occasions, typographers who thus felt for the honour of the press, and regretted every blemish as a stain upon their own characters, added to the subscriptions of their editions the names of their correctors. Such was the frequent practice of the first Henricus Stephanus; whence we learn that besides other men of eminence, the celebrated Beatus Rhenanus at one time discharged for him that office.

He does not appear to have printed any works in the vernacular or French language; willing probably to discriminate himself from the crowd of his contemporaries as a learned printer. His impressions seem to consist wholly of Latin works; amongst which, besides those of the several descriptions already mentioned, are a translation of Dioscorides by Ruellius, some Opuscula of Galen, and other medical writers; and in a word, such other scientific books as were, under that aspect of literature, most popular in the university.

To terminate our account of this venerable founder of the family of Estienne, as Panzer enumerates no works printed by him after the commencement of the year 1520, we may conclude

that Peignot is correct in asserting that he died in the month of July in that year. He says moreover "the circumstance happened at Lyons;" but mentions no authority. The six latest productions of his *officina, ejusdem anni,* bear the *excudebat* of Simon Colinæus; who subjoins the usual designation of Henricus Stephanus; viz. *e regione scholæ Decretorum.*

SIMON COLINÆUS, or DE COLINES, independently of his preeminence as an early Greek typographer, is entitled to our distinct notice on account of his affinity to the family of the Estiennes. De la Caille and Peignot say, that he first practised the art at Meaux, and executed there an impression of *Jacobi Fabri Commentaria in quatuor Evangelia, anno* 1521, in fol.; and that in the same year he also printed at Paris a work *Jacobi Bergomensis de claris mulieribus,* in fol. Panzer, however, diminishes the credit of one part at least of this assertion, by shewing that *Aristotelis Logica cum commentariis Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis* came forth from the *Imprimerie* of H. Stephanus, then deceased, with the following subscription: *Parisiis, ex officina Henrici Stephani et Successoris ejus Simonis Colinæi,* 1520, fol.; and that it did so after July 4th of that year is certain, because the last impression of the office, which bears

the name of H. Stephanus as then living, has that precise date expressed. I have, in the conclusion of the preceding memoir, adduced other testimony of his succession to Henry Estienne's establishment in that year. Panzer acknowledges the impression of *Fabri Commentaria in Evangelia* as executed not at Meaux, but at Paris, by Colinæus, sub anno 1521; as well as the alleged work of Jacobus Bergomensis; which is however by him erroneously ascribed to Joannes Ravisius Textor, who was the editor merely [g].

Having subsequently married the widow of Henry Estienne, he continued to send forth various impressions of more or less importance from the same office, probably till the year 1524. But the following title and subscription shew that in the course of it he changed his establishment: *Les quatre Evangelistes avec une epistre exhortatoire.* In fine: *Imprimé en la maison de Simon de Colines, libraire juré en l'université de Paris demeurant en la rue Sainct Jehan de Beauvais, l'an de grace mil cinq cens XXIIII. le XII. jour de moys d'avril;* 8vo. It appears from subsequent evidence furnished by Panzer, that this new *officina* of his was distinguished by the sign of the Golden Sun: *sub sole aureo, vico S. Joannis Bellovacensis:* and, *pressit suis typis nitidis-*

[g] Annales, tom. VIII. p. 73. n. 1270.

simis Simon Colinæus in officina sua aureo sole insignita, e regione collegii Bellovacensis; evidently denoting the same locality. It must be concluded therefore, that he then relinquished the former *imprimerie* in favour of Robert Estienne, the son of Henry: although the first impression of Robert recorded by Panzer after Clement, viz. *Apuleii liber de deo Socratis,* 12mo. is subscribed *Lutetiæ apud Robertum Stephanum,* without note of the site of the office: and the second, viz. *M. T. Ciceronis epistolæ ad familiares; Parisiis ex officina Roberti Stephani, e regione scholæ Decretorum VII. cal. Martii,* 8vo. *sine anno,* is placed by him sub anno 1526.

Colinæus even far beyond his predecessor established his claim to the character of a learned printer: for though he also necessarily rendered his press subservient to the literature of the times, and consequently gave birth to various works which are now consigned to oblivion; yet when left to the exercise of his own choice, he evinced a degree of taste and judgment, strikingly superior to those of his contemporaries. His very numerous impressions of the best Latin classics, and the equally novel and surprising beauty of their execution, are decisive proofs of such superiority. They are generally executed on a uniform and convenient plan: the greater part in an octavo form, but some *in forma minori:* yet all with re-

gard to type and arrangement so legible, and so agreeable to the eye, that scholars of any age may peruse them with pleasure. By such services this judicious printer evidently contributed in a most important degree to the advantage of the university: and gave an example to Robert Estienne in particular, which must have had great influence in forming the taste of that young typographer, and in awakening the zeal which he afterwards so remarkably evinced for the dissemination of classical literature.

The *caractère cursif* generally denominated *Italic*, and more especially *Aldine*, from Aldus Manutius who first used it, seems to have been much approved of by scholars of early times, though little used in our own. Learned printers of other nations were eager to provide themselves with fonts of this description; and Colinæus appears to have given in France the first example [h]. He procured for himself a species of

[h] So Maittaire seems to think. (*Vita Colinæi*, p. 5.) A Parisian printer, however, who styles himself Nicolaus Dives, (le Riche,) and adopted as his Mark "the double Anchor," in an edition of *Psalmi Davidici Septuaginta*, translated into Latin measures by Joannes Ganeius, Par. 1547, 8vo, speaks thus of his author: "illi autem uni acceptum ferre debes "quod aut mortui, aut diu in Italia latitantes, Aldini typi in "Gallia revixerint. Nam hosce typos, proxime Aldinos re- "ferentes, impensis suis sculptos, per me in publicum studio- "sorum gratia exire voluit," &c. The Italic characters of

Italic, larger, bolder, and fuller than the Aldine, and used it solely in many of his impressions; viz. in several Latin prose works, in all the Latin poets printed by him, (his *Virgilius, anni* 1526, excepted, which is in the Roman character,) and in the few works which he gave in his native tongue. Maittaire doubts whether he used these characters before the year 1528. The Italic provided by Robertus Stephanus, and that also so generally used by Sebastian Gryphius of Lyons, are well known. Though all are of the cursive kind and nearly resembling manuscript, yet each derives a peculiarity from the fancy of its inventor. Hence the Italic of Colinæus is less simple, and more ornamental than those of R. Stephanus and of Gryphius[i]. Maittaire prefers his expressly to that of Aldus; observing however that he sometimes employed an Italic of an inferior description: as for instance, in the Fasti of Ovid, 1536, and in the Metamorph. 1538, 8vo.

this printer certainly more nearly resemble the Aldine than those of Colinæus, R. Stephanus, or Gryphius. The few specimens of his press are classed among rare books. *Vide la Caille,* p. 121.

[i] The following epigram, written expressly in praise of Seb. Gryphius, makes honourable mention of Colinæus:

Inter tot, nôrunt libros qui cudere, tres sunt
Insignes; languet cætera turba fame.
Castigat Stephanus, sculpit Colinæus, utrumque
Gryphius edoctâ mente manuque facit.

As no bibliographer, with whom I am acquainted, has *ex proposito* enumerated the classical impressions of Colinæus in 8vo, *et infra*, I subjoin the following alphabetical list of them.

Apuleii Metamorphosis, 8vo, 1536.
Aurelius Victor, 8vo, 1531. 1544.
Catullus, Tibullus, Propert. 8vo, 1529. 1533. *form. minori.* 1534.
Ciceronis (*M. T.*) *Rhetor. & de Invent.* 8vo, 1524. 1529. 1534. 1541. *f. min.* 1545.
——— *Orationes*, voll. III. 8vo, 1525. 1532. *f. min.* 1538. 1543.
——— *de Oratore liber*, 8vo. 1529. *cum schol. Melancthonis*, 8vo. 1545.
——— *Epist. ad Atticum, Brutum, Q. Fratrem*, 8vo. 1532.
——— *de Natura Deorum*, 8vo. 1533.
——— *Officia, De Amicit. Senect. Parad. Somn. Scip.* 8vo. 1533. 1541. *f. min.* 1543.
——— *Brutus*, 8vo. 1535.
——— *Topica*, 8vo. 1535. 1545.
——— *Partitiones Oratoriæ*, 8vo. 1535.
——— *Orat. pro Cæcina, cum Omphalii Prolegom. & schol.* 8vo. 1535.
——— *Philosophica*, 1545. *f. m. Epist. ad Fam. f. m.* 1545.
Claudiani Opera, 8vo. 1530. *f. m.* 1540.
Curtius (*Q.*) *cum annott. Erasmi*, 8vo. 1533. 1543.

Eutropius, 8vo. 1531. 1539. 1542.

Fenestella & Pomponius Lætus, 8vo. 1530.

Herodianus Politiani, 8vo. 1539.

Horatius cum annott. &c. 8vo. 1528. 1531. 1533. 1539. *f. m.* 1540. 1543.

Justinus & Aurelius Victor, 8vo. 1530.

Juvenalis & Persius, 8vo. 1528. 1535. *f. m.* 1542.

Lucanus, 8vo. 1528. *f. m.* 1543.

Martialis, 8vo. 1528. 1539. *f. m.* 1540. 1544.

Ovidii Opera, voll. III. 8vo. 1529.

——— *Amatoria, Heroid. Epist. &c.* 8vo. 1536.

——— *Fastorum libri, Tristia, de Ponto, &c.* 8vo. 1536.

——— *Metamorphoses*, 8vo. 1538.

Persius, (seorsum,) 8vo. 1541. (*Maittaire.*)

Plinii Epist. Paneg. & de vir. illustr. Sueton. de clar. grammaticis. J. Obsequens de prodigiis, 8vo. 1529, 1545.

Sallustius, 8vo. 1523, *cum Hutteni indice*, 8vo. 1530. 1543.

Silius Italicus, 8vo. 1531.

Solini Polyhistor, 8vo. 1533.

Statius, cum orth. & flex. omn. Gr. diction. 8vo. 1530. 1540.

Suetonius, cum annott. Erasmi & Egnatii, 8vo. 1527. 1535. 1543.

Terentii Comoediæ, 8vo. *vel. f. m.* 1541. (*Maittaire.*) 1544. 8vo. *vel* 12mo.

Terentii Andria cum interpr. omn. gener. 8vo. 1541.

Terentius Varro de ling. Lat. & de Analogia, 8vo. 1529.

Valerii Flacci Argonautica, 8vo. 1532.

Valerius Maximus, 8vo. 1527. 1531. 1533. 1535. *f. min.* 1543.

Valerius Probus de scripturis antiquis, 8vo. 1543.

Virgilii opera, & opuscula, 8vo. 1526. *f. min.* 1531. 1540.

——— *Moretum, cum notis per Sussannæum collect.* 8vo. 1543.

The Quarto Classics by Colinæus are few: I find the following only recorded, viz.

Quintiliani Institutiones et Declamationes; 1541: *Terentii Heautont. Adelphi, Hecyra, Phormio;* 4to. 1539: *Terentiani Mauri, de Literis, Syllabis, Pedibus & Metris, tractatus insignis, Nicolao Brissæo Montivillario commentatore & emendatore;* 4to. *Parisiis apud Simonem Colinæum,* 1531. This last mentioned is a book valued equally for its beauty and rarity; of which scholars have been glad to obtain possession even at an extravagant price.

Dr. Burney meditated a new edition of this author. "I am quite delighted," says Dr. Parr, "that you will think of *Terentianus Maurus* . . . "by all means republish Brissæus's notes; and

" let the Cambridge edition contain every thing. " Great as are the blunders of Brissæus, his eru- " dition is vast, and his notes are what all scho- " lars must wish to possess and to read."—Dr. Burney in his answer states, that " he had paid " thirteen guineas for the *editio princeps* at the " Pinelli sale:" and in a subsequent letter, says: " My table is covered with *Moorish trappings.* " My own editions are these:

" Editio princeps, Milan. 1497. fol.

" —— Colinæi, Parisiis. 1531. 4to.

" —— Petrecini, Venetiis. 1533. 12mo.

" —— Sanctandreani, Heidelberg. 1584. 12mo.

" Putschius, Maittaire, and other *incorporated* " *editions* of little value. But I want the rarest " of rare books, a quarto Venice edition of 1503, " *apud Joan. de Ceret.;* a folio Milan edition of " 1504, by Janus Parrhasius, in a collection of " grammarians; and an edition by Jacobus Micyl- " lus, published at Francfort, 1532. These three " editions, or any of them, I would purchase at " *any price,* and think exorbitancy cheapness; " but alas! they are not to be had in England, " I fear. Santen, I find, by the sheets which " Burgess brought over last year, has either col- " lations of the two first, or the books themselves. " The Cambridge edition must surely contain all; " nor should a line of Brissæus be omitted, though " he is sometimes most wrong. In due time I

" will submit to you two plans for the manage-
" ment of the edition, if *it* will ever be allowed to
" have a title to that name. Brissæus's erudition
" and reading were of no common magnitude. I
" propose, among other things, to collect what
" anecdotes I can about him and other editors [k]."

Of the Biblia Sacra, Latina and Gallica, Colinæus produced *Le Pseautier, forma min.* 1523; *Psalterium Gallicum, ex versione Fabri Stapulensis,* 8vo; *Liber Psalmorum, forma min.* 1523. 1524. 1528. 1540; *Nov. Testamentum Latine, form. min.* 1523. 1525. 1527. 1528. 1531. 1550; the last *ap. hæredes Colinæi. Testamentum Nov. Erasmi, cum distichis ad singula capita & concordantiis in margine,* 12mo. or *forma min.* 1532; *Nov. Test. Latine,* 4to. 1541: and of the Vulgate version, *Libri Prophetarum. Esaias, Malachias, & Machabæorum libri III. form. min.* 1524. 1525; *Proverbia, Ecclesiastes, Cant. canticor. Sapientia, Ecclesiasticus, form. min.* 1524. 1527. 1539; *Pentateuchus, Josue, Lib. Judicum, Ruth,* 1525. 1527. 1539. *Libri Regum, Paralipomena, Esdras, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, form. min.* 1529. 1540: thus having probably accomplished at least a double edition of the Vulgate scriptures, in this portable

[k] " Memoirs of Dr. Parr's life and writings, by John " Johnstone, M. D." pages 726. 727. 729. Lond. 1828. 8vo. See also the whole chap. XIX. of the same work, for other curious particulars.

form; yet in a bold and pleasing Roman character. Maittaire also records by him *Biblia Latina, ex recognitione Jo. Benedicti.* fol. 1541.

Of his miscellaneous impressions most worthy of remark, I shall mention: *Nicolai Barbati Epigrammaton libri duo;* 8vo. 1521; *Rich. Croci orationes duæ ad Cantabrigienses* (*de utilitate & studio Ling. Gr.*) 4to. 1520; *D. Patris Benedicti Regula, utriusque Testamenti argumentis probata;* 8vo. 1522; *Petri Brissoti apologetica Disceptatio*[1], *qua docetur per quæ loca sanguis mitti*

[1] I mention this work on account of the dispute which it occasioned. Pierre Brissot, born at Poictou in 1478, distinguished himself as a medical practitioner at Paris, and elsewhere, at the period when the Lutheran reformation began to be agitated. At Paris, Brissot first wrote and spoke against an inveterate practice then still in use, of bleeding for the pleurisy on the side opposite to that which was affected. He maintained this to be an Arabian invention, in contradiction to the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen. His own reformed practice in this particular having succeeded in many instances, gained numerous proselytes in France to his opinion. He removed to Portugal subsequently, maintained there the same doctrine, and was violently opposed by the king's physician. This controversy at length occasioned an appeal to the university of Salamanca; but while the question was there under discussion, the *Medicus regius* procured from the legal authorities a decree, forbidding all medical practitioners to bleed on the side where the pleurisy was seated. The university however determined that Brissot's method agreed with the real doctrine of Hippocrates and Galen. At length the partisans of the reverse system, about the year 1529, procured an appeal to the decision of the emperor Charles V.

debeat in viscerum inflammationibus, præsertim in pleuritide; 4to. 1525; *Familiar. Colloquiorum Desiderii Erasmi Rot. opus, ab authore diligenter recognitum, emendatum, & locupletatum, adjectis aliquot novis. Lut. ap. S. Colinæum.* 1526–27. *form. minori:* the sale and perusal of which the censorial faculty of Paris interdicted. Though by Erasmus's own account twenty-four thousand copies of this edition were printed, it is now scarcely to be met with. M. Renouard (Bibl. d'un amateur, vol. III. p. 321.) had diligently sought for it, but could never discover more than two copies; one with only half the frontispiece; and another without a title, which he says is now in England. It is, he adds, " en 12, long et étroit bien imprimé " en belles lettres rondes." It is not found in the *Bibliothèque du Roy.*——*Laurentii Vallæ Elegantiæ & de reciprocatione sui & suus,* 4to. 1527; *Erasmi de recta Latini Græcique sermonis pro-*

To prejudice his opinion, they asserted, that the doctrine of their opponents was no less injurious to the body, than the heresy of Luther was to the soul: and they accused them of ignorance, temerity, and actual Lutheranism in the affair of Medicine. Unfortunately for their cause, Charles III. duke of Savoy, died at that critical juncture (anno 1553, for so long had the dispute been agitated) of a pleurisy, after having been blooded according to the practice which Brissot condemned: otherwise, it was thought Charles V. would have decided the question in favour of the ancient practice. Brissot indeed did not survive to witness the end of this dispute. He died in fine anni 1522. *Niceron.* Tom. XVI. pp. 325-6.

nuntiatione. Ciceronianus. Deploratio mortis Joan. Frobenii; 8vo. 1528; *Salmonii Macrini Carminum libellus;* 8vo. 1528; *Ejusdem S. Macrini Carminum libri IV.* 8vo. 1530; *Vidæ Ludus Scacchiorum: Anthonii Thylesii Araneola & Cicindela;* 8vo. 1529; *Strozii patris & filii Poemata;* 8vo. 1530; *Ædiloquium & Epitaphia Gotofredi Torini;* 8vo. 1530; *Pauli Belmesseri Poemata;* 1523. (Maittaire); *Natura adverbiorum;* 8vo. 1535; *Huberti Sussannæi Dictionarium Ciceronianum. Ejusdem epigrammatum libellus;* 8vo. 1536; *Ejusd. Ludorum libri;* 8vo. 1537; *Pathelinus Comœdia, alias Veterator, a Gallica lingua in Latin. traducta per Alexandrum Connibertum;* 8vo. 1543; *P. Rosseti Christus;* 8vo. 1543; *Laurentii Vallæ Elegantiæ, cum Badii Epitome & Bellovaci notis;* 4to. 1544; *Des Isles nouvellement trouvées en la grande Mer océan, &c.* (les Decades de Pierre Martyre traduites en françois.) 4to. 1532. One Italian impression is also recorded; viz. *Rime Toscane d'Amomo per Madama Charlotta d'Hisca. Parigi Simone Colineo.* 8vo. 1535. If this book really exists, it may be classed among the rarest. Other miscellaneous specimens of this press occasionally present themselves, which though of inferior interest or curiosity, are found in many instances decorated with superb bindings, antique or modern: a distinction often probably paid to

the printer, rather than to the subject or author of the volume.

But of still greater interest, in the eyes of all admirers of early typography, are the beautiful and rare impressions of Colinæus in the Greek character. These I propose to mention, as they successively appeared, in my separate chronological series of early Parisian Greek impressions: but shall here observe, that in Greek typography, no less than in Roman, Colinæus has left convincing evidences of that original and enterprising genius, which prompted him as an artist to aim at a degree of excellence, before entirely unknown in France. Bibliographers have long been accustomed to limit the number of his Greek impressions to five distinct works only: but the number may be extended to no less than fourteen, including his repeated edition of Euclid, and several books of a grammatical description. "Quæ apud "eum Græce excusa sunt" (says Maittaire) "per- "pauca quidem reperiuntur, sed adeo nitida, ut "nemo non doleat plura ab eo illa lingua non fu- "isse emissa." Of the beauty and fine proportion of these Greek impressions, an adequate idea can be formed only from the inspection of copies which have been well preserved, and have escaped the too frequent mutilations of the binder's knife: which remark may with equal propriety be applied as well to the impressions of the Estiennes,

as to those of other early artists under our consideration. Of the Greek Testament of Colinæus I have examined a fine and unmutilated copy; than which, with regard to paper, typography, and proportion, no book can possibly in its kind be more agreeable to the eye. It is also of great acknowledged importance critically, for the text it exhibits; and confessedly one of the rarest volumes with which collectors are acquainted. Though this Greek Testament is a handsome octavo, I have observed that when it does occur in the trade catalogues, it is frequently inserted among duodecimos, on account of the kind of mutilation abovementioned, to which it has been subjected.

The press of Colinæus was also much occupied by works relating to the Lutheran controversy; which now began to excite great commotions in the university of Paris. He printed *Joannis Eckii Enchiridion locorum communium adversus Lutherum;* 12mo. 1527. He also introduced to the public many of the elaborate works of Jodocus Clictovæus, both didactic and controversial; amongst which were the following: *Opusculum de vera nobilitate,* 4to, 1520; *De doctrina moriendi,* 4to, 1520; *De vita & moribus sacerdotum,* 4to, 1520; *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum,* fol. 1521; *De bello & pace,* 4to, 1523; *De veneratione sanctorum,* 4to, 1523; *Anti-Lutherus,*

fol. 1524; *De sacra Eucharistia contra Oecolampadium*, 4to, 1526; *Propugnaculum ecclesiæ contra Lutherum*, fol. 1526; *Compendium veritatum ad fidem pertinentium, contra erroneas Lutheri assertiones*, fol. 1529. These controversial works are diffuse and verbose, and profoundly deferential to authorities which Luther and his followers despised and ridiculed; but the books themselves have all the recommendation which skilful and prepossessing typography could give.

Being a *Libraire juré* of the university, Colinæus was also employed to print the Acts of the Council of Sens: *Decreta Concilii Senonensis*, fol. 1529; which council the chancellor Du Prat in his character of archbishop of Sens assembled at Paris, and in which the Lutheran heresies were condemned in the year 1528. The volume containing these "Decreta," or Acts, is described as one of the most magnificent folios of that period, as well as the most correct.

As to Jodocus Clictoveus, (Josse Clictoüe,) he is commemorated as one of the first and most zealous doctors of the Sorbonne, who wrote against Luther. It was he who excited the faculty (says Chevillier) "à faire la censure des hérésies Luthe-
"riennes." Another writer concerning the affairs of the university, cited by him, speaks thus:
"quis Censuram Theologorum Parisiensium ad-
"versus Lutherum, Melancthonem, &c. nescit,

" quam auctore præsertim Jodoco Clictoveo doc-
" tore Sorbonico editam novimus: is est Clicto-
" veus, qui post Eckium Germanum primus de
" locis controversis fidei adversus Lutherum ac-
" curate scripsit."

Clictoüe excited the bishops of France also to condemn the heresies of Luther. The provincial synod before mentioned was consequently assembled at Paris in the year 1528, for that purpose. Chevillier relates, that in the night of Sunday, May 31st, of the same year, certain " Lutherans" offered an impious insult " à nôtre Seigneur et à sa " sainte Mère." The statue of the Virgin holding in her arms the infant Jesus was exposed to view, in the corner of a certain street of the city. They disfigured the statue, and cut off the heads. Francis I. offered a thousand crowns for the discovery of the perpetrators of this deed. In a public procession specially appointed, a new image of the Virgin, of silver and other costly materials, was publicly carried to the place. The king assisted at the ceremony in person, attended by all the lords and great officers of his court, and bearing in his hand a waxen taper. At the spot was chaunted " l'Antienne: Ave Regina coelorum." Francis having continued some time on his knees, set up the image in the place of that which had been disfigured, and left the taper burning before it. Pope Clement VII. noticed the action by a

special brief: "Est ut tibi nobisque de tam ortho-"doxo rege gratulemur" &c. and the faculty recorded the same act of Francis I. after his decease, in their list of censured works.

Amongst the folio impressions by Colinæus, Maittaire distinguishes several, as highly finished and magnificent: such he describes *Galeni opera diversa, Latine,* which appeared in several distinct volumes in 1536. Such also is *Ruellius de natura stirpium*[m], *ejusd. anni,* not to mention others. He also commends the taste which Colinæus displayed, in decorating his impressions with appropriate engravings; in the titles especially. Thus, in the tract of Clictoveus *De doctrina moriendi,* "appingi curavit Cranium." To medical treatises he prefixed "Capita et Figuras præcla-"rorum veterum Medicorum super cadavere con-"sultantium:" to veterinary works, "Equitem "equo insidentem:" to mathematical, "Geome-

[m] This is indeed a magnificent book, and a highly finished specimen of printing. It is inscribed by its author *Christianissimo Galliarum Regi Francisco, hujus nominis primo,* by a long and interesting dedication. The title of the volume is contained in the centre of a fine wood cut, exhibiting trained vines, flowers, and other ornaments. In the right-hand lower corner of the plate we observe TIME with his scythe, the printer's Insigne. In the opposite angle, appear a male and a female figure, seated in a bower, and surrounded with musical instruments. The former was evidently intended by the artist as a portrait of Francis I. probably the other of his sister the queen of Navarre.

" tras antiquos, sphæras, globosque," &c.: and to botanical, " diversas Stirpium & Fruticum spe- " cies [n]."

Many of his larger impressions, otherwise decorated or not, are destitute of any *insigne* or mark. In some books Maittaire says he used the royal arms, " Scutum Franciæ, aut Franciæ Del- " phinique." In the *Concilii Senonensis Decreta* he exhibited the arms of the archbishop. But that device, which he used in some of his earlier impressions, viz. rabbits or conies (conils) is thus described: " initiales sui nominis literas $S^{D}C$, aut " binis hinc inde cuniculis cinctas, aut sub arbore " pendulas, cum cuniculis itidem ab utroque latere " duobus, & tertio sub arboris radicibus procum- " bente." Maittaire supposes this mark to bear a studied allusion, by a partial metathesis, to the printer's own name: *Colines, Conils.* This conjecture seems more ludicrous than successful. If the reader will revert to our former mention of a work intitled *Artificialis introductio* &c. printed by H. Estienne I. he will be convinced that this *Insigne cuniculorum* was neither more nor less than the ancient sign or distinction of the office.

A more frequent Insigne or MARK, used by Colinæus, was the bold figure of TIME, with which many of his impressions are decorated: " Tem-

[n] Maittaire, Vit. S. Colinæi, p. 8.

" poris alati, recalvastri, & falcigeri effigies, cum " lemmate adjecto: ' Virtus sola hanc aciem re- " tundit [o].' " Maittaire thinks that he borrowed this Insigne from a contemporary printer, Reginaldus Calderius, (Regnaud Chaudière,) whose family certainly used a similar mark and motto; but perhaps they may rather be presumed to have inherited it from S. de Colines. These printers were in some instances professionally connected. Regnaud Chaudière moreover received in marriage the daughter and only child of Colinæus: Claude Chaudière, the issue of that marriage, exercised the same profession and became his heir; and, " il avoit," says la Caille, " pour marque le " TEMPS, avec ces mots, Virtus sola aciem retun- " dit istam." Maittaire records 225 impressions by Colinæus ante 1537, Panzer 349. Maittaire notes after that period 140. By the same rate of omission, Colinæus may be presumed to have

[o] Some impressions by Colinæus have this motto only: " Virescit vulnere Virtus." Niceron considers it as the appropriate motto of Orontius Finæus, (art. *Oronce Finéei*,) but that the same legend was variously adopted and used, at a period when the composition of devices was so fashionable an amusement in France, appears from the following circumstances said to be recorded by Mezeray. " When Mary " queen of Scots was in England, she embroidered for the " duke of Norfolk a Hand, with a Sword (or knife) in it, cut- " ting vines, with the motto ' Virescit vulnere Virtus.' " (*Bell's Life of Mary Q. of Scots*, vol. I. p. 53. Edinb. 1828. 12mo.)

printed no less than five hundred distinct editions. The last, recorded as from the press of this artist yet living, is the French copy of the fine anatomical work of Charles Estienne, 1546, fol. embellished, as the Latin copy *anni præcedentis*, fol. with engravings. I shall take further notice of this work in the section relating to Charles Estienne. The last mentioned by Maittaire is *Nov. Testamentum Latine, form. min.* 1550. *apud hæredes Simonis Colinæi.*

CHAPTER IV.

EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A GREEK SCHOOL AT PARIS—SERIES OF GREEK IMPRESSIONS RESUMED—NEW GREEK PRINTERS—BADIUS—PETRUS VIDOUVE'. TORY—COLINÆUS—CHRISTIANUS WECHEL—IMPRESSIONS, 1513-1529.

IT may appear a subject of surprise, that previously to the year 1507, when, as we have seen, the earliest effective attempt was made to encourage the study of Greek literature at Paris by the establishment of a GREEK PRESS, the famous university of that city should have been so destitute of the means of acquaintance with the favourite language of the Muses, that original works of Greek authors might be considered there, as totally inaccessible to the curiosity and emulation of the studious: especially when it is remembered that Italian scholars had already attained to great critical skill in the Greek language.

So early as in 1495, the celebrated Aldus Manutius had as we have said, established his typographical institution for the purpose of disseminating Greek authors, of every description, in their

original form: and before the commencement of Greek printing at Paris, not a few of the most voluminous and interesting Greek works had issued from the Aldine press; not to mention the more isolated editions which had proceeded from those of several other cities of Italy. It is well known however, that in Greek literature, and indeed in the studies of Humanity and elegant learning in general, the academic establishments on our side of the Alps continued for a considerable period very far behind the more fortunate schools of Italy; which not only had the advantage of early instruction from the celebrated exiles after the subversion of the Greek empire, but also of patrons of literature and the arts much more enlightened and munificent, and of professors and students far more enthusiastic, enterprising, and judicious, than any which the other European schools of learning could boast. We have also already remarked that Italian scholars, proud of their superior proficiency and refinement, considered the ultramontane as a rude and barbarous progeny; to whom they felt little inclination to communicate their own improvements and critical discoveries; and with whom indeed, the then comparatively limited facilities of communication debarred them almost wholly from familiar intercourse. So that, if we except those few, whose extraordinary ardour and emulation prompted them

to proceed from France, Germany, or England, to the universities of Italy, and to imbibe classical erudition at its source and fountain, our northern seminaries of learning had made small improvements in their taste and classical pursuits and attainments, since the dark periods of the middle ages.

It must not however be inferred, that the Parisian university had hitherto, as a great public seminary, been altogether a stranger, as it were, to the very name and sound of the Greek language: for, at an interval much prior to that under our present consideration, some transient attempts had been made to introduce there the cultivation of Greek literature. Thus Hodius (*de Græcis illustribus*), after Naudæus, has recorded that Lilius Gregorius Tiphernas, an Italian by birth, though erroneously considered by Naudæus as a Greek, having been instructed by Emanuel Chrysoloras, and afterwards offered himself as a professor of Greek in his native country, where he found his labours indifferently rewarded, came to Paris in the reign of Louis XI; and presented himself before the Rector of the university; tendering his services there as a teacher of the Greek tongue, and demanding that a stipend should be assigned him in that character, conformably to a certain decree of the "Concilium "Viennense," by which it was enjoined that pro-

fessorships should be instituted of the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in the academies of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and also at Rome. An application so novel, urged too with a boldness and confidence so little according with the exterior of a needy foreigner, excited, as Naudæus informs us, considerable surprise. The Rector however, thought it expedient to refer the matter to a council of seniors; and by them the proposal of Gregorius was approved: a stipend was appointed for him, and he was desired to enter upon his office without delay.

And thus the Greek language was first introduced at Paris about the year 1472: for Melancthon, in his oration concerning the study of languages, spoken in 1533, asserts that Gregorius Tiphernas came to Paris sixty years before: and an epistle of Jacobus Cardinalis Papiensis proves that in 1471, Gregorius was exercising the same employment at Perugia in Italy. Naudé has furnished the additional information, that in hope of the like liberal rewards which Gregorius had experienced, other professors repaired in process of time to Paris; namely, Hieronymus (he should have said Hermonymus) Spartiata, Tranquillus Andronicus Dalmata, and Janus Lascaris; the two former in the reign also of Louis XI, the latter in that of Charles VIII: all (as he seems to say) eagerly claiming the like office and advantages.

From the scholars of Gregory of Tifernum, (who in a short time either died or left this university,) Joannes Reuchlinus, about the year 1473, being then a youth, acquired the elements of the Greek language; of which, as well as of the Hebrew, he afterwards became the earliest professor in Germany. After the arrival of Hermonymus at Paris, Reuchlin a second time came thither; found him in the exercise of his office as a teacher of Greek, and learned from him the art of Greek calligraphy, by which he was enabled to acquire both distinction and emolument; forasmuch as the students of the university were eager to engage him by liberal rewards, to write out for them the rudiments of the Greek grammar, and such portions of Homer and Isocrates, as formed the subjects of the several lectures. To some of these particulars Reuchlin himself bears testimony in a letter addressed by him to Jacob. Faber Stapulensis. In his preface to his ***Rudimenta Hebraica*** he acknowledges himself indebted to Hermonymus "quod linguæ Græcæ ignarus non esset:" and there are extant two short epistles addressed to him by Hermonymus himself, the one in Greek, the other in Latin, bearing the date of 1478.

Of the skill of Georgius Hermonymus, as a Greek scribe, several testimonies are extant; the most conspicuous of which (mentioned by Dr. Hody, from whom many of the preceding particulars are

taken) is a fine MS. of Quintus Smyrnæus, Græce, carefully preserved in the Bibliotheca Barberina at Rome; the remarkable subscription [a] to which proves Hermonymus to have been a person of no mean consideration, and to have been employed by Pope Sixtus IV. on an important mission to England, before he established himself at Paris. Another testimony of a similar kind, but of considerable importance both in illustrating the reputation of Hermonymus, and proving him the same who was known to Budæus, occurs in the preface to the first edition of *Michaelis Syngeli de laudibus divi Dionysii liber;* in which the editor Tilmannus speaks thus of the MS. belonging to the Carthusian library, from which the work was printed by R. Stephanus. "Est plane exemplar "hoc nostrum manu ceu penicillo delineatum "Georgii Hermonymi Spartani; qui quam elegan- "ter pingeret alicubi commeminit clarissimus vir "D. Gulielmus Budæus, nostra hac memoria literis "humanioribus restituendis, atque a fœda bar- "barie asserendis, prognatus alter Camillus, deque

[a] "Absolutus est hic liber, continens poema Cointi Cala- "bri, postquam ex Albione Britannica insula Lutetias in "Galliam commeassem, manu Georgii Hermonymi Spar- "tiatæ, qui a maximo pont. Sixto IV. missus fueram ad "liberandum Jorcæ archiepiscopum, anno a Christo nato "M.CCCC.LXXVI. Hecatombæonis mensis secundum A- "thenienses, quem Junium Romani dicunt, die XXVIII." (*Hodius de Græcis illustr.* p. 236. Lond. 1742. 8vo.)

" utraque lingua quam optime meritus: at idem " Georgius quam limate & expense lineamenta " duceret, per me tu arbiter esto honorarius." Dr. Hody also ascribes to the same Hermonymus several theological treatises and versions of obscure Greek works, though on evidence partly dubious: and from the whole concludes that he could not be that " senex Græculus indoctus" of whom Budæus complains, as mentioned in our second section. The evidence however of Chappuis already cited, which proves him to have been still surviving at Paris at so late a period, and more especially the express mention of his name by the biographer of Budæus, must strongly incline us to a different conclusion. Neither is there any thing in the testimony of Budæus himself which makes the question doubtful: for in his letter to Cuthbert Tonstall, cited by Hody, he allows him the merit of reading well his native language, and understanding the pronunciation: speaks of his talking pompously of Homer and other Greek authors: offering for sale at a great price books or MSS. of which he highly extolled the value: and using all such like means to make the utmost advantage of the ardour and liberality of so eager a student. Budæus naturally enough gave him credit for all the real erudition to which he pretended. He bears testimony also to his being the only native Greek then known to be in France.

The opportunity therefore of obtaining such a preceptor in the Greek language was not to be resisted. When at length he found his own proficiency so much less satisfactory than he had expected, he imputed the failure less to the ignorance than to the avarice of the teacher, and a desire to hold him longer tributary. It was not till a more open communication with Italy afforded him better advice, and books, and means of instruction, that he became fully aware of the comparative incapacity of Hermonymus; and that he had in fact imbibed from him erroneous notions and principles, which must be unlearned, before he could enter upon the right career of improvement.

With regard to Tranquillus Andronicus Dalmata, whom Dr. Hody speaks of as the successor of Hermonymus, I have hitherto found no other mention of him than the very brief one, which, apparently on the authority of Naudé, occurs in the work *De Græcis illustribus.* And though, on the same authority, Janus Lascaris is mentioned as a subsequent teacher of Greek in the university of Paris, I believe he never discharged any public or stipendiary function there. It is indeed certain, that after the expulsion of Petrus Medices and the whole Medicean family from Florence, this illustrious Greek, thus deprived of his patrons, about the year 1494, betook himself

to Charles VIII. of France; and afterwards attended the court of Louis XII, by whom he was employed in several public missions. It is also a matter of undoubted record, that he occasionally rendered to Budæus very valuable assistance and advice in his Greek studies. But, as with the university it does not appear that he had any official connexion, his temporary visits to, or residence in Paris must be considered to have been merely of a political or diplomatic nature. That he was afterwards placed by Leo X. at the head of his Greek academy at Rome, is a fact sufficiently known and authenticated. He also revisited Paris, probably several times, during the reign of Francis I; and in particular when that monarch contemplated the foundation of a royal Greek school there; as we may hereafter have occasion to mention.

Having shewn how scanty and inefficient the means were at Paris of acquiring the Greek language, before the introduction of Greek typography there; I shall now resume the chronological series of impressions, consequent upon the first attempts by Gilles de Gourmont already detailed; of which however, the number even down to the year 1528, inclusive, will be found very limited: so that, if we may venture to estimate the popularity of Greek studies by the progress of such impressions, we may conclude that this

novel branch of learning found in the university at that period but few partisans; and that the common saying: "Græcum est, non legitur," continued long in familiar use both with students and professors.

1513. The *Institutiones Grammaticæ Aldi Manutii cum accentibus Græcis restitutæ*, were twice printed in 4to, by JODOCUS BADIUS, and by Poncetus le Preux.—From the press of Gourmont we find *Theocriti Idyllia, Græce*, 4to: thus further described by Fabricius: "liber dicatus Hieronymo "Aleandro Mottensi trium linguarum doctissimo, "Aureliæ literas profitenti. Editor est Celsus "Hugo Dissutus Cavillanus, Celticarum necnon "Hebraicarum apud Parrhisios interpres." (*Bibl. Gr.* vol. III. p. 780.)

1516. Gourmont printed *Alphabetum Hebraicum & Græcum, & Theodori Gazæ introductivæ grammaticæ libri IV. priores*, in one volume 4to. These *Opuscula* are in distinct parts; and to each is prefixed the *insigne* or device of Gourmont. The same year he gave his first impression of the *Grammatica Græca* of Chrysoloras.

1518. Appeared the earliest impression of *Eustathius de Ismeniæ & Ismenes amoribus, Græce & Latine*, 8vo, the printer's name not specified.

1521. A renewed impression of the *Grammatica Græca* of Theodore Gaza, with a Latin translation by Joan. Valtellus, 4to, issued from the

Prelum Ascensianum.—A folio, or more probably an 8vo, impression of *Ori Apollinis Hieroglyphica, Gr. Lat.* was executed by PIERRE VIDOUVE' of Verneuil. This was the first appearance of this early Parisian Greek-typographer; who was considered as a person of learning and eminence. He not only executed for Gilles de Gourmont a singularly curious impression of Aristophanes, which will claim our notice *sub anno* 1528; but also for Jean Petit and Denis Lecuyer at a more advanced period, viz. in the year 1538, the work of Guillaume Postel, intitled *Linguarum XII. characteribus differentium Alphabetum*, &c. La Caille says, "this was the first book printed at Paris in oriental characters;" which however, as far as relates to the Hebrew, is an incorrect assertion. The MARK of Pierre Vidouvé was a figure of FORTUNE: with the words, *Par sit fortuna labori.* On the credit of Fabricius, I shall also mention as a Parisian impression of this year: *Nicolai Beraldi Dictionarium Græco-Latinum*, fol. (*Bibl. Gr.* vol. VI. p. 652.)

1522. *Joannis Oecolampadii Dragmata Græcæ litteraturæ*, 8vo, with the name of Conrad Resch.

1523. *Lexicon Græco-Latinum, opera Gulielmi Mayni & Johannis Chæradami.* fol. *apud Ægid. Gourmont. Homeri Iliadis libri duo priores cum annotatiunculis Melchioris Volmarii* 4to, *apud eundem.* Fabricius also records, *Santis Pagnini*

Isagoge ad linguam Græcam capessendam, 4to, *Par.* 1523.

Melchior Volmarius, denominated Erythropolitanus, and Johannes Chæradamus, appear to have rendered useful service to Gourmont as editors of several of his Greek impressions. The latter in particular, in conjunction with Gulielmus Maynus, preceptor to the children of Budæus, greatly contributed to the augmentation and improvement of the Parisian Greek Lexicon, by the impression of which this year was distinguished. Chæradamus prefixed to it two *Epistolæ;* one, *ad Franciscum Regem;* the other, *ad Episcopum Trecensem.* In the latter he says, that he has for six years been a public professor of Greek: "se multos & ele- "gantes authores Græcos publice professum . . . . "mox succedentibus annis coeptum a se studium "ἐν θεραπευτικῇ Γαληνοῦ," &c. Hence, in a Latin epigram prefixed to the same work by Maynus, he is jocularly termed *Hypocrates,* a cognomen which evidently he did not disclaim: for I find mention of an impression by Gourmont of Chrysoloras, *iterum, sine anno,* commencing thus: "Ha- "bes, candide lector, Grammaticen doctissimi Chry- "soloræ, a Johanne Chæradamo Hypocrate longe "quam antea emendatiorem," &c.

1525. *Demetrii Chalcondylæ Grammaticæ institutiones, Græce* 4to, *apud Ægid. Gourmont.*

1526. *Hippocratis Aphorismi, Gr. Lat. ex*

versione Nicolai Leoniceni, cum commentariis Galeni, 8vo: (Fabricius, who names no printer.) This year also appeared the singular book, intitled *Champ Fleury,* 4to. *par Maître* GEOFFROY TORY, who was himself the author and printer. It treats of the proportion *des lettres Attiques,* &c., contains some specimens of Greek typography, and is said to have contributed greatly towards the improvement which now took place in the form and elegance of typographic characters. Tory was a person of considerable erudition and ingenuity. He translated into the French language various Greek works: and la Caille says, that Francis I. honoured him with a special *privilegium* for the impression of *les Heures,* and similar devotional books, in consideration of the choice ornaments with which he embellished them. His *Insigne* or MARK was "un POT CASSE' "remply de toutes sorts d'instrumens," and the words "Non plus." La Caille gives his history at considerable length.

1527. The impressions of this year seem to have been merely a *Syntaxis Græca, autore Guinterio,* 8vo; and *Platonis Cratylus, Græce,* 8vo: both from the press of Gourmont. In the latter Chæradamus addresses a Greek epigram to an English bishop, who is denominated "Joannes "Clericus, Bathoniensis episcopus, Angliæ regis "orator."

1528. SIMON COLINÆUS (of whom I have given a distinct memoir) appears now to have made his earliest experiment in Greek typography, by printing, *Theodori Gazæ Traductio in Ciceronis de senectute dialogum, & ejusdem versio in somnium Scipionis,* 8vo. This impression, now of extreme rarity, was speedily followed by that of *Sophoclis Tragoediæ septem, Græce,* 8vo. This fine Sophocles of Colinæus is a book still held in considerable estimation, and derives great additional interest from its being the representative of the Aldine[b]. The fruits of Gourmont's enterprise this year were *Luciani Dialogi deorum, Gr. Lat.* 4to; and *Aristophanis Comoediæ novem, Græce,* 4to. The last mentioned was executed under the direction of Chæradamus, *sumptibus Ægidii Gourmontii, labore & industria Petri Vidovæi.* This rare and interesting impression of Aristophanes exhibits each play, with

[b] "Editio ducta esse videtur ex Aldina. Editio admodum "rara. Aldina editio præstantissima, ex antiquis & probæ "notæ codicibus ducta & sequentibus præferenda. Agmen "ducit Aldina, quæ basis erat reliquarum usque ad Turne-"bum. Hic nactus codicem Sophoclis a Demetrio Triclinio "recensitum, hujus interpolationes mutationesque temerarias "recepit, atque vel Stephanum & Canterum (qui tamen "multa bene mutavit) habuit sectatores. Nostra demum "tempestate tertia editionum ætas enata est parente Brunckio, "qui reduxit Aldinam lectionem, e codd. plerumque, inter-"dum de conjectura, correctam crebrius immutatamve." (*Bibl. Gr.* vol. II. p. 219. *Harlesii.*)

a curiously engraved title and colophon, as a distinct tract. "Singulæ comoediæ" (says Panzer) "seorsum excusæ eundem annum gerunt "(1528.) Singulis Comoediis Græca Johannis "Chæradami Epistola præmittitur, primæ, ad "Johannem Clericum, Legatum Angliæ: secun- "dæ, ad Thomam Winterum: ad Petrum Dane- "sium tertiæ: quartæ, ad Johannem Violam, re- "liquis, ad Joh. Tartassium, Joh. Lapithum, Joh. "Beraltum virum eruditum, Joh. Ruellium Me- "dicum, et Guil. Cuinum." (*Fabr. Bibl. Gr.* vol. II. 381.) Besides the *Scutum*, or usual device of Gourmont, with his *épigraphe*, "Tôst "ou tard," &c. the respective titles of these comedies also exhibit in two compartments, Hebraice and Græce, that text of the Psalms, "I have been "young and now am old; yet never saw I the "righteous forsaken." This year also *Demosthenis Orationes tres Olynthiacæ, Græce*, 4to, were printed by Vidouvé, probably at the charge of Gourmont. The impression is styled by Fabricius, *Libellus rarissimus.*

1529. Badius now printed *Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ, Gulielmi Budæi*, fol.: the first edition of a work of stupendous erudition; the technical execution of which in all respects corresponds with its merit. This magnificent volume may be considered as the *chef d'oeuvre* of the *Prelum Ascensianum*, and exhibits a convincing

specimen of the regularity, and indeed beauty of execution, which the Parisian Greek press had now attained. Badius also printed *Isocratis Areopagiticus*, and *Evagoras*, *Græce*, 4to, both distinctly. Colinæus gave *Galeni liber de Pulsibus*, *Græce*, 8vo; and *Isocratis parænesis ad Demonicum, & oratio de gubernando regno*, *Gr. Lat.* 8vo. I also find notice of *Aristoteles de virtutibus & vitiis*, *Gr.* 4to or 8vo; which has an "Epi-" stola Chæradami ad Franciscum Regem:" but the printer is not specified. In the same year 1529, Christianus Wechel produced (as it is supposed) his earliest Greek impressions; viz. *Isocratis oratio de pace*, *Græce*, 8vo, *sub scuto Basiliensi*; *Plutarchus de liberorum institutione*, *Græce*, 8vo; *Theophrasti Histor. Plantarum Libri X.* 8vo, according to Fabricius; and *Theodori Gazæ Grammaticæ institutionis libri IV. Gr. Lat.* 8vo; in which last named edition he employed Simon Sylvius, or du Bois.

Christianus Wechel, the father of a family of printers, is said to have become professionally known about the year 1522. Between that period and 1554, he executed numerous impressions, in the French, Latin, and Greek, and some also in the Hebrew language. He first practised the art under the distinction of the *Scutum Basiliense*, or arms of Basil, which was perhaps his native

city; and afterwards *sub Pegaso*, which became the hereditary device of the family. Some of the earliest impressions in which he was concerned bear the *Insigne typographicum* of Simon Sylvius before mentioned; which was, says Maittaire, "Arbor cum duobus erithacis, altero in "ramis sedente, & alterum advolantem quasi pro- "cul arcente," with this motto, "Unicum arbus- "tum non alit duos erithacos;" an adage of which Erasmus, in his *Adagia*, has given some explanation. The mark which Christian Wechel at length adopted, as we have said, in its most complicated form, is thus described by Maittaire: "Manus "binæ caduceum tenentes, bina copiæ cornua, & "Pegasus super his transvolans."

Each book of Wechel's Grammatica Græca of Gaza, *anni* 1529, is printed separately, with a distinct title. At the end of the fourth book, a specimen is given of the Greek and Latin text in double columns in the same page, after the plan of Conrad Gesner; which method, as Maittaire observes, was not yet common in French impressions. Christian Wechel gave to the public many of the Opuscula of Galen, as well in the original Greek as in different Latin versions. He was remarkable for publishing select parts of Greek authors of every description, which he thought promoted the sale. He was esteemed by Erasmus, some of whose works he first introduced to the

public. Gesner inscribed to him the thirteenth book of his Pandects, *Tiguri*, 1548. He deems him worthy of being numbered among the most renowned typographers of the age.

I have seen and examined a very singular Latin tract from the press of this printer, consisting of thirty-seven leaves in 4to, handsomely executed, and thus entitled: *Exactissima infantium in limbo clausorum querela, adversus divinum judicium apud æquum judicem proposita. Apologia divini judicii contra querelam infantium. Infantium ad apologiam divini judicii responsio. Æqui judicis super hac re sententia. Autore Antonio Cornellio juris utriusque licentiato doctiss.; Lutetiæ apud Christianum Wechelum in via Jacobæa, sub scuto Basiliensi, anno M.D.XXXI. mense Januario.* De Bure says, this little work made a great noise on its appearance, was considered as a prodigy of atheism and impiety, and was so diligently suppressed, that a copy could scarce be obtained. Some went so far as to say, that the impression of this volume brought down the divine malediction upon the house of the rich and celebrated printer Wechel, and was the occasion of all its subsequent calamities. Without being superstitious on this head, De Bure is content with saying, that "ce fut dans le temps de "l'impression de ce volume qu'arriva l'époque des "premiers malheurs de cet artiste." What cala-

mities are here alluded to, it might be difficult to explain. But M. Bayle, (*Article Wechel,*) has shewn this illiberal story to be founded on the assertion of le Père Garasse, in his *Somme Théologique.* Christian Wechel is also said to have been brought into trouble in 1534, for having sold a treatise of Erasmus, *De esu interdicto carnium,* which had been censured by the divines of Paris. He exercised however his profession at Paris apparently with success, till the year 1554, as we have said: and then died, leaving his establishment to André his son. This André or Andrew Wechel, having maintained the reputation acquired by his father in the typographic art, is understood to have quitted Paris in 1573, and then to have established himself at Frankfort; where, by the aid of Fridericus Sylburgius his corrector, the press of Wechel became even more distinguished than before. Andrew left Paris on account of his religious opinions, which were those of the reformed: some say, more particularly on account of the danger which he encountered during the massacre of S. Bartholemew; when he narrowly escaped death through the kind exertions of Hubert Languet; and to whom he testified his gratitude for this circumstance, in a dedicatory epistle prefixed to the *Vandalia* of Albert Krantz, printed by him, *Francofurti,* 1575.

Concerning the real character of the offensive

tract before mentioned, the reader will find the observations of M. Bayle, *loco supradicto.* I shall however add a few words on the subject. It appears to have been a received dogma of the Romish Church, that such children as died unbaptized were consigned, not indeed to actual torments, but to a state of perpetual durance and darkness: " in carcerem detrudi, in limbo ge- " mentes contineri:" and that, " qui illoti e vita " decedunt, perpetuo in limbo agant necesse est." This tract therefore consists of a series of *play-doyers,* or pleadings, which the author pretends to have witnessed and heard in a dream: " dor- " mienti mihi visi sunt infantuli, qui in limbo " agunt, coram adstare Deo opt. max. accusantes " quod non sua, sed protoplasti causa exhæredati " essent, contra sententiam legis (dictæ, *scil.*) Plau- " tiæ." These pleadings exhibit a strange mixture of arguments drawn from common reasoning, and authorities from the ancient jurists, as well as frequent citations from different classic poets. Such a subject of debate, and such a mode of treating it, cannot but offend the feelings of religious persons, of whatsoever denomination. The chief impiety of the book however seems, I think, to consist in the title and form. In the matter I have not observed any arguments which might not, under other circumstances, be employed, without the imputation of blasphemy. This small

volume, which, after all, exhibits nothing very novel or ingenious, though not less rare than formerly, has deservedly fallen from the high price at which it was once estimated by collectors, to one more adequate to its real worth. *Vide Brunet, Art. Cornellius, (Ant.) &c.*

Though our present concern with Christian Wechel is principally as a Greek printer, yet it may be added, that there are splendid productions of his press of various descriptions. Such are, *Vegetius de re militari; Frontinus de Strategematis; Ælianus de instruendis aciebus; Modestus de vocabulis rei militaris; cum picturis bellicis CXX passim Vegetio adjectis,* fol. *Chr. Wechel,* 1532: and more especially, *Végece du fait de guerre et fleur de chevalerie; Sexte Jule Frontine des Stratagèmes; Ælian de l'ordre des Battailles; Modeste; pareillement CXX histoires concernans le fait de guerre joinctes à Végece,* (a translation of the preceding,) *figures en bois, lettres Goth. Par. par Chr. Wechel,* 1536, in folio.

CHAPTER V.

SERIES OF GREEK IMPRESSIONS CONTINUED—GERARDUS MORRHIUS—MICHAEL VASCOSANUS—ANT. AUGURELLUS—PETRUS GAUDOUL—JOANNES LODOICUS—CAROLA GUILLARD—CONRADUS NEOBARIUS—FRANCISCUS GRYPHIUS—JACOBUS BOGARD—1530-1543.

I SHALL in this section proceed with the chronological series of impressions by contemporary Greek printers at Paris, interspersing such notices of those learned typographers who newly present themselves, as I have been able to obtain.

1530. We find in this year *Galenus de facilibus partu remediis, Græce,* 4to, *apud S. Colinæum; Homeri Batrachomyomachia, Græce,* 8vo; and *Alphabetum Græcum, cum aliis huc pertinentibus,* 8vo, *apud Christ. Wechel:* also some tracts of *Hermogenes, Græce,* 4to, *apud eundem,* which I shall notice more particularly under the next year.

But our attention is more especially engaged by a new Greek printer, GERARDUS MORRHIUS Campensis, who began now to practise with great zeal in the college of the Sorbonne, from whence

he usually dates his impressions. He commenced with an important work: *Lexicon Græco-Latinum, cui præter omneis omnium additiones hactenus sive in Italia, sive in Gallia, sive in Germania impressas, ingens vocabulorum numerus accessit, &c.* This is a moderately thick folio, beautifully printed on paper of the finest quality, in double columns. The types, especially the Greek, small, but very distinct. The alphabetical initials consist of letters engraved and tastefully ornamented for this artist. Numerous grammatical tracts are annexed to this volume, to which the amplitude of the margin and regularity of the press-work give a handsome appearance. In the same year Morrhius printed *Didymi Interpretatio in Odysseam, Græce,* 8vo. In this volume the Greek type is larger than that with which the Lexicon is executed, but the figured capital initials are the same. He also produced the following impressions of this date: *Aristotelis Rhetorica & Poetica, Græce,* 8vo; *Luciani Somnium, Græce,* 8vo; *Ejusdem Tyrannus, Gr.* 8vo; *Ejusdem Icaromenippus, Gr.* 8vo; *Ejusdem Vitarum auctio, Gr.* 8vo; *Plutarchi Apophthegmata, Gr.* 8vo; *Theodorus Gaza de mensibus Atticis, Gr.* 8vo; *Sophoclis Ajax flagellifer, Gr.* 8vo; and *Galeni de elementis, de optima corporis constitutione, & de bono habitu, libri, Gr.* 8vo.

The ardour and diligence of Gerard Morrhius in the multiplication of Greek books appear in the preceding list of eleven distinct impressions in one year. His learning, no less than his liberality, may be reasonably inferred from the elegant Latin preface to the Lexicon before mentioned: in which he declares that the augmentations found in it had been carefully prepared by persons of competent erudition, whom he had engaged at great expense. And to the *Interpretatio Didymi in Odysseam*, a perspicuous Greek epistle is prefixed; in which he avows, that his own love of philology inclines him to risk his whole fortune for the public benefit. This, he says, his late costly impression of the *Lexicon Græcum* has sufficiently indicated: that he is far from emulating the example of sordid typographers, who, intent only upon their private gain, execute their impressions in a slovenly and inaccurate manner; thus bringing the art itself into contempt: that therefore he has engaged correctors of approved ability, by whose means his establishment will acquire a reputation of faithfulness and correctness beyond those which preceded it; of which, he trusts, this accurate edition of the Scholiast will convince the public. At the end of the volume he subscribes himself Gerardus Morrhius, Germanus.

This interesting printer was a warm friend of Erasmus, to whom a letter of his is cited by Maittaire, in which he evinces his prudence and moderation, by disapproving of the violent measures of the Sorbonne against that scholar. "There "are," says he, "even within the precincts of this "college, those who wish well to you: but they "are obliged to whisper, fearing to declare in "public their real sentiments: to such a pitch "has tyranny attained here. Your friends rejoice "exceedingly that you have replied with so much "moderation to the *Determinationes* of our di-"vines, printed by Badius; for they were afraid "you would have branded the whole faculty with "a stigma that would have marked them to pos-"terity; which you would certainly have been "justified in doing," &c.—Of this typographer Maittaire finds no mention after the year 1532.

As the singular Device of Morrhius presents an enigma, which neither La Caille nor Maittaire has explained, I may venture to suggest, that the figure exhibited in his titles is that of VICE: a female form above, but changing beneath "in "monstrum horrendum & informe." The Greek motto above: μήτ' ἐμοὶ μέλι, μήτε μέλιττα, may imply: "I neither possess sweetness, nor the means "of procuring it." That beneath, is the well known adage: "Nocet empta dolore voluptas."

In some of the smaller specimens of this device the figure holds a mirror, as if to contemplate her own deformity.

1531. Badius printed *Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum, Græce,* 8vo; which in the *Prolegomena* of Jacobs *in Anthologiam Gr.* is said to be a copy of the second Aldine impression, retaining all its errors, and exhibiting others peculiar to itself. This year Colinæus printed *Alphabetum Græcum cum accentibus, abbreviationibus, & nonnullis aliis,* 8vo.—Christianus Wechel, the following works: *Aphthonii Progymnasmata, Græce,* 4to; *Hermogenis Ars rhetorica, Gr.* 4to; *Ejusdem de inventione, tomi IV. Gr.* 4to; *Ejusdem de formis orationum, tomi II. Gr.* 4to; *Ejusdem de methodo gravitatis liber, Gr.* 4to: the two first of these tracts have the date of 1530, the rest of 1531. With separate titles, and all other appendages of distinct pamphlets, these rhetorical treatises of Hermogenes are sometimes found together in one volume, 4to. From the same press issued, *Gregorii Nazianzeni in Julianum invectiva prior, Græce,* 8vo; *Cebetis Tabula, & aurea Carmina Pythagoræ, Gr.* 8vo; *Thucydidis libri primi conciones, Gr.* 4to; and *Æschinis & Demosthenis orationes adversariæ, Gr.* 4to. Morrhius also added to his former impressions, *Demosthenis orationes contra Philippum, &c. Gr.*

4to; *Hippocratis de morbis popularibus, liber I. cum commentariis,* 4to; and *Galeni comment. in Hippocratem de salubri diæta,* 4to. Michael Vascosanus now also appears in the character of a new Greek typographer, by an impression of *Alcinous de doctrina Platonis. Gr. Lat.* 8vo.

Bibliographers have usually dated the commencement of VASCOSANUS one year later, and considered that, which I shall first mention under the ensuing year, as his earliest Greek impression. He was a native of Amiens. He received a liberal education, became the son-in-law of Jodocus Badius, and having been appointed a *libraire juré* of the university, commenced his typographical career at or about the period we have mentioned. It is understood that he exercised his art "in ædibus Ascensianis," and used the *Insigne* of that office till the year 1539. The Device which he afterwards adopted, and most frequently used, was a FOUNTAIN, delineated with superb and appropriate ornaments, and surrounded by this motto: ἐν βιβλίοισι ῥέει ἡ Σοφίας πηγή. Maittaire has given others used by him occasionally; but many of the impressions of Vascosan, both Greek and Latin, are found without any device. The Greek impressions of this artist were not many, but his Latin ones numerous. Some are found with his name so late as the year 1576. From 1566, to 1576, he was *Typographus Re-*

gius. We find his name frequently associated with those of other printers. Of the beauty of Vascosan's Latin characters, and the elegance and correctness of his impressions, no scholar, says Maittaire, can be ignorant. He specifies, in particular, his numerous and pleasing impressions of the different works of Cicero, printed as separate tracts in 4to, and generally illustrated with valuable commentaries. His Greek types were not always of that minute description which Maittaire's account of them might lead us to suppose. He probably had overlooked those fine specimens, *Oppianus de Venatione, Græce,* 4to, *anni* 1549; and the *Rhetorica Aristotelis, Gr.* 8vo, of the same year. In every department, Vascosanus is assuredly entitled to a very distinguished place among the improvers of Parisian typography. "Cerne, lector," says Maittaire, "Quintilianum "ter ab ipso in folio, & semel in 4to excusum: "totis oculis perlustra varios Ciceronis quos emi- "sit tractatus; mecumque fateberis eum qui non "viderit animo, & qui viderit verbis, assequi non "posse, quod tuendo testis oculatus expleri nun- "quam poterit." (*Vita Vascosani,* p. 19.) "Les "belles editions que celles de Vascosan;" (says Chevillier,) "elles sont universellement admirées "de tout le monde." I may mention his impression *P. Bembi rerum Venetarum historiæ, Lutet.* 1551, 4to, as one of those specimens by which the

warmest eulogy is justified: and whilst the beauty of his fine Latin characters can scarce be excelled by modern skill, the paper used by him, and by other eminent printers of those times, will generally be found to exhibit a superiority of texture and quality, which, under modern encouragement, the manufacturer would find it too expensive to imitate. It was thus that these early artists provided for the almost unlimited duration of the books, which they gave to the public. The correctness also of Vascosan's press may be exemplified by his impression of *Budæus de asse & ejus partibus*, fol. in which three errors only have been recorded. The subscription of the volume runs thus: *Imprimebat Michael Vascosanus sibi, Roberto Stephano, & Joanni de Roigny, affinibus suis;* 1542. He calls these artists *affines suos*, they having, all three, married daughters of Jodocus Badius. The first Frederic Morel was Vascosan's son-in-law, and was employed by him: the second illustrious typographer of that name was his grandson. He composed his Epitaph, recorded by Maittaire, *Hist. Typographorum Parisiensium*, pp. 29, 30.

1532. Colinæus now gave to the public, *Æliani liber de re militari*, 8vo. From the press of Christianus Wechel proceeded, *Aristoteles de naturali auscultatione, cum paraphrasi Themistii,*

Gr. 4to; *Demosthenis orationes de Syntaxi, de Classibus, de Rhodiorum libertate, de Megalopolitis, de Percussis cum Alexandro Fœderibus, Gr.* 4to; *Ejusdem oratio in Leptinem, Gr.* 4to. On the authority of Fabricius perhaps one more impression of Morrhius ought to be here recorded, which is *Plutarchi Apophthegmata, Græce,* 8vo. Vascosanus gave, *Thomæ Magistri Dictionum Atticarum collectio, Phrynichi Atticorum verborum & nominum collectio, Moschopuli vocum Atticarum collectio;* and, in the same volume, *Ælianus de instituenda acie, & Orbicius de ordinibus, &c. Græce,* 8vo. The introductory address of Vascosanus to Nicolaus Strabo is cited by Maittaire. La Caille characterises this little volume as even in his time of very rare occurrence. There remains some uncertainty whether the impression of *Thomas Magister & alior.* or that of *Alcinous* really claims to be considered as Vascosan's earliest specimen. I have given the priority to Alcinous, on the authority of the *Bibliotheca Askeviana.*

1533. Christianus Wechel produced *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes, Gr.* 4to. Vascosan repeated his edition of *Alcinous,* with *Xenocrates de morte, &c. Græce & Latine,* 8vo; the Greek and Latin texts are separated, and bear the dates 1532, 1533. An impression *Hesiodi Operum & Dierum, Græce,*

8vo. *apud Antonium Augurellum* announced the commencement of a new Greek press.

ANTOINE AUGEREAU (Augurellus) is occasionally found in connection with Jean Petit, Simon de Colines, and others. That he printed with very handsome types both Greek and Latin, Maittaire says the above impression of Hesiod (which has a Latin preface by Melanchthon) is a proof. La Caille ranks him amongst the improvers of the Roman characters. The same year a *Psalterium, Hebraice, Græce, & Latine,* fol. is mentioned as a production of the Parisian press: the printer unknown.

1534. Simon de Colines produced his celebrated *Novum Testamentum, Græce,* 8vo; concerning which I have spoken more particularly in my separate notice of that typographer[a]. Robert Estienne was at that time the assistant of his labours. *Aphthonii Progymnasmata, Gr. Lat.* 4to; *Theodori Grammatica, Gr. Lat.* 8vo; *Hadrianus de*

[a] The title of a work, bearing date 1533, has accidentally presented itself, which proves the claim of Colinæus to the character of an author: viz. *Simonis Colinæi Grammatographia, ad prompte citoque discendam Grammaticam, tabulas tum generales tum speciales continens:* 4to. *ap. ipsum Colinæum. Par.* 1533. It is said to have been composed for the use of the daughter of Francis I: to be beautifully printed *en rouge & noir:* and to have escaped the knowledge of all bibliographers.

Dialectis Græcis, with some *Epigrammata Luciani, Græce,* 8vo, were this year the fruits of Christian Wechel's press. Vascosan, in conjunction with Pierre Gaudoul, gave *Theodori Gazæ Grammatices, libri IV. Gr. Lat.* 8vo; each book forming a distinct impression, and some parts having the date 1535.

PETRUS GAUDOUL was one of the several printers whose names occasionally appear united with that of Vascosan. Though the first book of the preceding impression is in the name of Vascosan, and the other three exhibit that of Gaudoul, yet they are all printed with the same characters, and are obviously from the same press. Pierre Gaudoul, in conjunction with P. Gromers, if we may credit what I have somewhere seen asserted, gave an impression of the same grammar, *Græce tantum, & typis minutissimis, anno* 1529. Gaza at this period was in such high estimation, that few works so repeatedly employed the Parisian Greek press. The Device of Pierre Gaudoul is a HAND holding a burning LAMP: "dextra arden-" tem lampada sursum gerens," with the artist's initials, P. G. and the motto "Ite potius ad ven-" dentes, et emite vobis," Matth. xxv.; and beneath, "Sic luceat lux vestra," Matth. v.

1535. The impressions of Christian Wechel this

year were, *Pindari Olympia & Pythia, Græce,* 8vo; *Thucydidis Historiarum, liber I. et II. Græce,* 4to; *Homeri Odysseæ libri V. priores, Gr.* 8vo; *Constantini Lascaris de quorundam verborum constructione liber secundus, Gr.* 8vo; Vascosan again produced, *Theodori Gazæ Grammatices, libri IV. Gr. Lat.* 8vo. A newly-established press by Joannes Lodovicus, or Lodoicus, Tiletanus, also gave birth to an impression of *Xenophontis Oeconomicus, Gr.* 4to, or 8vo.

This JOANNES LODOICUS, a German by birth, a native of Tielt en Gueldre, whence his surname Tiletanus, whose commencement Maittaire erroneously dates from the year 1537, soon became distinguished for great diligence and accuracy. He is said to have been an elegant classical scholar, and to have written commentaries on Quintilian. Conradus Neobarius, who afterwards became the first Typographus Regius, was for some time his assistant. The Insigne of Lodoicus is thus described by Maittaire: "Binæ manus junctæ te-" nentes erectum CADUCEUM papaveribus & spi-" cis crinitum, cum literis J. L." Sometimes he exhibited "ECHENEIDA telo transfixam," with the word "Matura." His impressions were (considering the duration of his practice of the art) rather numerous. His Latin characters, both Roman and Italic, were very elegant. His pre-

faces evince great erudition. One of them has been cited by Maittaire, (*Annal.* tom. III. p. 1.) He died *anno* 1547.

1536. The impressions of this year were, *Orontii Finæi in VI. priores libros Elementorum Euclidis demonstrationes, cum ipsius Euclidis textu Græco & interpretatione Latina,* fol. *apud S. Colinæum; Alphabetum Græcum* (& *alia*) *Gr. Lat.* 8vo. *ap. M. Vascosanum; Galeni de ratione medendi liber, Gr.* 8vo; *Luciani Parasitus, Gr.* 4to; *Luciani Charon, Gr.* 8vo; *Homeri Odysseæ libri V. priores, Gr.* 8vo; the four last, distinctly, from the press of Christianus Wechel: *Luciani Somnium; Ejusdem Hercules Gallicus, Græce,* 8vo; *Joan. Lodovicus Tiletanus.*

With the year 1536, Panzer has closed his elaborate work, the *Annales Typographici.* I shall terminate the list of this year with the mention of the following impressions, described by him among such as he found " sine anni nota." They are all, however, attributed to the press of Ægidius Gourmontius.

Chrysoloræ grammatica Græca, studio Joannis Chæradami, 8vo; *Theocriti Idyllia viginti,* (title Greek,) *cum insigni Ægid. Gourmont.* Panzer believes this to be the same with the impression *anni* 1513. *Luciani Dialogi, Somnium, &c. Judicium Vocalium, Timon, Halcyon, Prometheus,*

(title Greek only) 4to. Panzer says of this book, "Editio rarissima a nemine hactenus excitata. Collectio nostra." (tom. VIII. p. 214.) *Plutarchus de Virtute & Vitio, de Fortuna, Quemadmodum oporteat adolescentem poemata audire, Gr.* 4to; *Alphabetum Hebraicum & Græcum,* 4to.

1537. Impressions of this year were, *Chrysostomi Missa, Græce & Latine, Erasmo interprete,* 8vo; *Luciani Toxaris, Gr.* 8vo.; both *ex officina Christiani Wechel: Theognidis Sententiæ, Gr.* 4to; and, *Plutarchus de tranquillitate & securitate animi, Gr.* 8vo, *apud J. Lodoicum Tiletanum.* Fabricius also specifies, *Pythagoræ Carmina, cum Cebetis Tabula, Græce,* 8vo, *Parisiis,* 1537.

1538. Impressions of Wechel were, *Musæi Opusculum, cum sententiis monostichis, &c. Gr.* 8vo; *Aristotelis Prædicamenta, Gr.* 4to; *Herodoti Clio, Gr.* 4to; *Xenophontis Cyropædiæ libri IV. priores, Gr.* 4to; *Plutarchus de virtute & vitio, Gr.; Plato de legibus; Pselli arithmetices compendium, Gr.* 4to; *Porphyrii Isagoge, Græce, cum castigationibus Olivarii,* 4to; *Hermogenis Ars Rhetorica, Gr.* 4to; *Luciani deorum dialogi XXIV. Gr.* 4to; *S. Chrysostomi de oratione sermones duo. Decalogus, Græce,* 12mo; *Nicomachi Geraseni Arithmeticæ libri II. Græce,* 4to;

the first edition of that work. Joannes Lodoicus printed this year, *Aristotelis Ethica, Gr.* 4to; and *Magica Zoroastri Oracula, Græce, cum Græcis scholiis Plethonis,* 4to. Fabricius mentions, *Scholia in Odyss. Græce, Par.* 1538, 8vo; which is perhaps doubtful.

1539. Impressions recorded are, *Xenophontis Cyropædiæ libri IV. posteriores, Gr.* 4to, *Christianus Wechel; Chrysoloræ Græcæ grammaticæ institutiones, Gr. cum Latina versione Sylvii,* 8vo, *idem; D. Justini* (*Martyr.*) *admonitorius ad gentes liber, Græce,* 4to; *in ædibus Carolæ Guillard excudebat Joannes Lodoicus;* and, *Commentarii anonymi in Aristotelis rhetorica, Græce,* fol. *per Conradum Neobarium Regium Typographum.*

This year, then, presents two new names of celebrity in Greek typography, that of Carola Guillard, and that of Conradus Neobarius; the latter commencing under the newly-instituted distinction of Typographus Regius; a distinction of which I propose to speak more particularly in a future section.

Concerning CAROLA GUILLARD, Maittaire says, "inclaruit anno 1538;" but the first impression which he notices under her sole name, (after the above mentioned,) is the *Psalterium,* a pleasingly printed book, not in 8vo, as he says, but *in forma*

minori. She dwelt " sub sole aureo," using the insigne of Claude Chevalon, whose widow she was. In her impressions, both Greek and Latin, she employed types of a very agreeable description, and was particularly studious of accuracy. Berthold Rembolt was her first husband. In 1520, she became the wife of Chevalon. " The first " woman," (says Delandine, *Hist. abrégée de l'Imprimerie, Par.* 8vo.) " who distinguished herself " in the typographic art, was Charlotte Guillard, " who espoused successively two renowned prin- " ters. On the decease of the latter, she personally " superintended her presses; correcting the proofs " of Latin works, and publishing very correct edi- " tions." If she was not a widow till 1542, as Chevillier pretends, it is singular that her name should appear in the impression *anni* 1539, above specified [a]. It must however be observed, that some impressions of her's bear the date of 1519, being the year of her first widowhood; such as the " Decretalia cum glossis," *en rouge et noir:* but her finest works were those which she executed *inter* 1542, and 1556, which was that of her decease. She herself testifies in the year 1552, that she had laboured in the profession fifty years: " Quæ hosce quinquaginta annos continuos hoc

[a] I find, *B. Nectarii oratio una, & Chrysostomi Orationes VI. Gr. Lat.* 8vo. 1514. *Carola Guillard.* (*Bibl. Græc.* tom. VIII. p. 572.) but 1514 must be an error: perhaps for 1541.

" imprimendi munus administro, id est, gravissi-
" mum & impensarum & curarum pondus volvo
" moveoque." (*Præfatio in Lexicon Tusani.*)

This heroine of the art gave an impression of the *Biblia sacra, Latine,* with the notes of Joannes Benedictus, and executed voluminous Latin originals or translations of the Fathers. Lodovicus Lippomanus, afterwards bishop of Verona, and at length of Bergamo, having employed her to print his *Catena SS. Patrum in Genesim, anno* 1546, was so well satisfied with the execution of it, that, when attending the council of Trent, he came to Paris for the special purpose of inducing her to undertake his second volume, *Catena in Exodum;* which she completed with great elegance and beauty, *anno* 1555. One of her most interesting impressions has escaped the notice of Chevillier and of Maittaire, viz. her fine *Novum Testamentum, Gr. Lat. Erasmi,* 8vo, which she executed for Bogard in 1543, as I shall hereafter mention. The Greek Lexicon of the professor Tusanus was at least finished by her: having been undertaken by Bogard, who, with his wife, died during the impression. Frederic Morel for some time presided as corrector of the press of Carola Guillard. The office " sub sole aureo" maintained its high reputation long after her decease: and in 1576, produced in five large volumes folio, the magnificent *Corpus Juris civilis,*

of which Chevillier speaks in terms of the highest admiration, pronouncing it the most pleasing and finished specimen of the art that ever came under his observation: " C'est à mon avis un chef " d'œuvre de l'art, et ce que j'ai vû en matière " d'Imprimerie de plus accompli et de plus agré- " able aux yeux."

Of CONRADUS NEOBARIUS, Maittaire says, scarce any typographer practised the art for so short a period, and attained so much credit in it. In 1538, he was admitted a " libraire juré" by a very honourable address from the " Recteur" of the university. Maittaire believes he also printed in this year, 1539, *Anonymi Commentar. in Aristotelis Rhetoricam, Gr.* (agreeably to what we have already stated,) and that it was his first impression. His catalogue exhibits a Latin impression of the same year by Neobarius, viz. *Actuarius de medicamentorum compositione, Ruellio interprete,* 12mo. He probably did not execute more than six or seven Greek works. He died *anno* 1540. Henricus Stephanus composed several *Epitaphia* in honour of his memory. The MARK of Neobarius was a brazen SERPENT upon a CROSS: " serpens æneus in patibulo sive signo T erectus, " cum his aliquando vocibus TYP. SAL. i. e. ty- " pus salutis vel Salvatoris."

Neobarius married a sister or near relative of

Jacobus Tusanus: a union which may be considered as a kind of pledge of his own literary character, and as an occasion of his advancement to the dignity of Typographus Regius. We shall see hereafter that his widow subscribed herself Emonda Tusana. As to Tusanus, the author of the Greek Lexicon which bears his name, he was considered by his countrymen as the ablest of their early Greek scholars, after Budæus; who held him in peculiar estimation, and willingly assisted him in his studies, as a person singularly qualified by his disposition and talents for the dissemination of the Greek language. (*Vita Budæi.*) Tusanus became, as we have before signified, one of the *Professores Regii.*

1540. I find this year the following impressions by Christianus Wechel. *Luciani Somnium; Prometheus es in verbis; Nigrinus; Judicium vocalium; Timon; Halcyon; Prometheus, Græce,* 4to: *Gulielmi Budæi Græcæ epistolæ, ab ipso tum locupletiores tum emendatiores,* 4to; and, *Aristophanis facetissimi poetæ Comœdiæ, Græce,* 4to: " Nitida & emendata hæc editio ducta est " potissimum ex Cratandriana & Aldina. At sin- " gulæ Comœdiæ peculiarem habent inscriptio- " nem; hinc sæpius una alteraque tantum juncta " occurrunt. Atque ipse Wechelius in præfatione; " ' Cum destinassemus, ait, prælo nostro commit-

" tere Aristophanis comœdias, operæ pretium " duximus in illorum gratiam, qui omnes emere " aut nolunt, aut præ rei tenuitate non possunt, " singulas comœdias seorsim imprimere; eo tamen " modo, ut si quis eas a nobis excusas omnes cu- " piverit, comparare possit: si quamlibet separa- " tim, hic quoque non frustretur. Præter ea, quanta " potuimus diligentia, hunc facetissimum poetam " collatis diversis exemplaribus excudimus, atque " ad germanicum (Cratandri) tum aldinum exem- " emplar non parvo labore emendavimus,'" &c. (*Fabricii Biblioth. Græca*, vol. II. p. 382.) Impressions by Joannes Lodoicus were, *Ex Platonis Timæo particula Ciceronis libro de universitate respondens, Gr. Lat.* 4to; *Aristotelis Ethica, Gr.* 4to; *Ejusdem Politica, Gr.* 4to; *Sophoclis Antigone, Gr.* 4to; *Arati Solensis phænomena, Græce; Ciceronis in Arati phænomena interpretatio, &c.* 4to. Those by Neobarius the Typographus Regius were, *Apostolorum & SS. conciliorum decreta, Gr.* 4to; *Adamantii Sophistæ Physiognomica, Gr.* 12mo; *Aristoteles & Philo de mundo, Gr.* 12mo. This volume has an error (in titulo) M.D.LX for M.D.XL. *Epicteti Enchiridion, Gr.* 4to; *Aristophanis Plutus, Nebulæ, Ranæ, Gr.* 4to. To Bogard I find ascribed, *Demosthenis dicta Sapientum, Gr.* 4to. The following are said to be printed *sumptibus Emondæ Tusanæ, viduæ Conradi Neobarii*, viz.

Alexandri Aphrodisiensis Medicinalia Problemata, Gr. 12mo; and *Geo. Gemistius, sive Plethon,* περὶ ὧν Ἀριστοτέλης πρὸς Πλάτωνα διαφέρεται, 12mo. Four impressions are recorded without the printer's name: viz. *Hippocratis de morbis popularibus, libri IV. Gr. Lat.* 4to; *Arsenii syntagma logicum, Græce,* 12mo, *Par.* 1540; *Latine,* 1541; (*Askew.*) *Adamantii Sophistæ Physiognomica, Gr.* 8vo, *Parisiis; Psellus in Aristotelis prædicamenta, &c. Gr.* 12mo; and *Gr. Lat.* 12mo, 1541; (*Fabricius.*) This year Robert Stephanus made, as it is believed, his earliest attempt by printing Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι, or *Sententiæ singulis versibus contentæ, ex diversis poetis Græcis,* 8vo. The only remaining impression of the year 1540, of which I find mention, is *Lexicon Græco-Latinum jam recens in lucem editum,* 4to, *apud Franciscum Gryphium.*

Franciscus and Sebastianus Gryphius were brothers, and founders of the celebrated press which bears their name. Francis printed at Paris, and Sebastian at Lyons: but they were of German extraction. If what Peignot says be true, Franciscus did not exercise the art beyond the year 1540; consequently the last mentioned might be his only Greek impression. But Sebastian is said to have commenced, in 1528, by a volume of prayers taken from the sacred books, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: and exercised the art

till 1556. He gave to the public numerous works, among which the *Commentarii Linguæ Latinæ Stephani Doleti, 2 tomi, fol. Lugd.* 1536, exhibit a magnificent specimen of his skill. Francis used in his Latin impressions the Roman character, and Sebastian the Italic. The productions of both these artists are held in high estimation. Antoine, the son of Sebastian, supported the reputation of the family. Their well-known device was a GRYPHIN.

I have also under this year, 1540, mentioned for the first time the name of JACOBUS BOGARDUS professionally. Many productions of his press are extant, both *Græce* and *Latine*, conspicuous for the elegance of the characters. About the year 1546, he undertook an impression of the *Lexicon Græco-Latinum* of Tusanus, but died before it was completed. He was the nephew of Charlotte Guillard. He generally used the *insigne* of Neobarius.

1541. I find of this year, *Caroli Girardi Græcæ institutiones*, 4to, *Colinæus; liber rarissimus*, (*Bibl. Ask.*); *Herodiani liber I. Græce*, 4to; *Christ. Wechel; Isocratis orationes duæ ad Demonicum & Nicoclem, Græce*, 4to; and *Nonnus in Joannem, Gr.* 8vo, *J. Lodovicus Tiletanus; Cassii Iatrosophistæ naturales & medicinales quæstiones de animalibus, Græce*, 8vo, *impensis*

Emondæ Tusanæ viduæ Conradi Neobarii; Xenophontis Memorabilia, Gr. 4to, *Jacobus Bogard; Nonni Metaphrasis Evang. Joannis, Gr. idem; Homeri Odyssea, Gr.* 8vo; *Apollonii Argonautica, Gr.* 8vo; *Hesiodi Opera & Dies, Gr.* 8vo; *Zoroastri Mag. Oracula, Gr.* 8vo: all or most of these last have the insigne of Neobarius, but no printer's name. Maittaire is inclined to ascribe them to Bogard. I find the following also without name of printer, *anni* 1541: *Apollonius Rhodius, & interpretatio antiqua in ejusd. Argonautica, Græce,* 8vo, considered as a rare volume: *Aristoteles & Philo de mundo, Græce & Latine, a Budæo,* 8vo; *Alexandri Aphrodisei problemata, Gr. Lat. a J. Davione,* 8vo.

1542. *Theodori Gazæ institutiones grammaticæ, Gr. Lat.* 8vo, *Christ. Wechel; Excerpta ex scriptis Herodiani, Gr.* 8vo, *idem; Joannes Varenius de dialectis Græcis,* 8vo, *idem; Platonis Axiochus, aut de morte, Jo. Perionio interprete, Gr. Lat.* 4to, *J. Lodovicus Tiletanus; Xenophontis Memorabilia Socratis, Græce, & seorsum Latine per Bessarionem,* 4to, *Bogard;* of this, however, Fabricius (or Harlesius) says, "titu- "lus librorum numerum mentitur, quoniam non "nisi duo priores sunt editi, quibus accessit Bes- "sarionis interpr. in totidem libros. Ceterum "hic reperiuntur lectiones nonnullæ præstantis-

" simæ." *Bibl. Gr.* vol. III. p. 12. I find also *Aristotelis Topicorum libri VIII. Gr. Lat. cum Augusti Niphi commentariis, fol. ap. Jac. Kerver.*—Kerver, however, did not, I presume, exercise the office of a Greek printer, but employed others.

1543. *Æschinis & Demosthenis orationes adversariæ, Gr.* 4to, *Chr. Wechel; Ejusd. contra Philippum prima, & de pace, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. oratio secunda, & de Haloneso, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. oratio tertia, & de iis quæ gerebantur in Cherroneso, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. oratio quarta, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. Olynthiacæ orationes tres, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Platonis convivium, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Galeni Libri de usu partium corporis humani, Gr.* fol. *idem; Ejusd. de Pulsibus liber, Gr.* fol. *idem; Luciani deorum dialogi XXIII. Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. Menippus, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Ejusd. Mortuorum dialogi XXX. Gr.* 4to, *idem; Theocriti Idyllia, Epigrammata, &c. Gr.* 4to, *idem;* Τὰ Θεολογούμενα τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς, *opusculum antehac nusquam emissum, Gr.* 4to, *idem; Joannis Drossæi grammaticæ quadrilinguis partitiones,* 4to, *idem; Nov. Testamentum, Gr.* (*cum Latina Erasmi interpretatione,*) 8vo, *aut* 4to, *minori; pro Jacobo Bocardo excudebat Carola Guillard.* A scarce and beautiful volume.

Other impressions in the same year were, *Galeni Libellus de ossibus, Græce,* 4to, *Mich. Vascosanus;* this is the *editio primaria. Procli Sphæra, Græce,* 4to, *Jo. Lodovicus Tiletanus; Theognidis Sententiæ, cum scholiis, Gr. Lat. idem; Psalterium, Gr. Lat.* 16mo, *Carola Guillard; Porphyrius in Aristotelis Categorias, Græce,* 4to, *Jacobus Bogard; Luciani Alcyon & Prometheus, Gr.* 4to, *idem.* The following without printer's name: *Aristoteles de Poetica, Gr. Lat.* 8vo; *Joannis Chæradami Lexicopater etymon,* fol. (*Paris, Ask.*); *Basilius magnus de liberalibus studiis, &c. Gr.* 8vo. Franciscus Stephanus also executed this year *Horæ in laudem beatiss. Virg. Mariæ, secund. consuetud. Romanæ ecclesiæ, Græce,* 12mo; an admired volume.

I have now brought down this contemporary history of Greek printing at Paris to the year 1544; a period when ROBERT ESTIENNE, invested with the honourable distinction of *Regius in Græcis Typographus,* commenced his career as an authorized Greek printer at Paris, with a splendour which eclipsed all the antecedent practitioners of the art. I shall conclude this section with observing, that this year, 1543, was remarkable for the commencement and earliest effort of Greek typography in England, if we may rely on

the testimony of Fabricius; who furnishes the following notice and remark: "Jo. Chrysostomi "Homiliæ II. (altera in 1 Cor. x. altera in "1 Thess. iv.) nunc primum in lucem editæ. Gr. "Lat. interprete Joanne Cheko Cantabrigiensi. "*Lond. ap. Reg. Wolfium*, 1543. Hic est pri-"mus liber Græcis typis in Anglia excusus." *Vid. Maittaire, Ann. Typogr.* vol. III. p. 345. (*Bibl. Græca*, vol. VIII. p. 570.)

CHAPTER VI.

HEBREW AND ORIENTAL PRINTING ATTEMPTED AT PARIS—AUGUSTINO GIUSTINIANI—GUILLAUME POSTEL—VERSES SUBJOINED TO HIS PORTRAIT.

SEVERAL of those distinguished persons, as well scholars as artists, who contributed so essentially, as we have seen, to the culture and propagation of Greek literature in the university of Paris, are also deserving of honourable mention for their zeal, and their success in promoting oriental studies, and an acquaintance with the sacred language.

The earliest impressions in the Hebrew language and character are said to have been produced by the Italian Jews at Soncino, a little town in the duchy of Milan. From the press of Soncino, Hebrew and rabbinical works issued so early as in 1484, according to Chevillier, and successively in the following years. The same family multiplying carried the art of Hebrew printing to Brescia, Bologna, Rimini, Fano, and other cities of Italy. Subsequently to their labours, the art was practised in numerous places both by Jews and Christians.

Aldus had some Hebrew characters, but made little use of them. Justinus Decadyus, a Greek who resided at Venice, and procured the impression of the *Psalterium, Græce*, from the Aldine press, announced it as the intention of Aldus to give an edition of the whole Bible in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: but this, if really projected, was never executed. An alphabet in Hebrew, from the press of Aldus, was preserved in the Sorbonne.

Daniel Bomberg was the first printer of the Christian profession, who established a Hebrew press. This he did at Venice, apparently very soon after the commencement of the sixteenth century; and continued his learned labours about forty years: printing various editions both of the holy Scriptures in the original language, and of other Hebrew and rabbinical works. His impressions were celebrated for correctness, beauty of character, excellence of paper, and the like advantages; so that the press of Bomberg, almost equally with that of Aldus, became the pride and ornament of Venice. The same city soon became possessed of other skilful printers also in the sacred language; and the greatest part of those Hebrew works, which found their way to distant universities, probably had their origin in that place.

Chevillier believes there were no Hebrew cha-

racters whatsoever in the printing-houses of Paris before 1508[a]: but in that year a small beginning was made in Hebrew typography by the same Gilles de Gourmont, under the conduct of Tissard, whose laudable exertions first established a Greek press. Under the patronage of the prince de Valois (afterwards Francis I.) Tissard, who, as we have before mentioned, had learned the Hebrew language in Italy, drew up a kind of Hebrew Grammar; which contained the Alphabet, the *Oratio Dominica, Genealogia B. Mariæ, & alia similia*, in Hebrew characters; and these were followed by a *Grammatica Hebraica succincte tradita.* At the end of the book were subjoined some particulars relating to the elements of Greek literature. The Hebrew characters were very ill formed and imperfect; but notwithstanding exhibited a novelty very agreeable to the university. Tissard inscribed this work to his munificent patron, whose glory he flatters himself with having exalted, by establishing under his counsels and auspices two new schools in the university of Paris; one for the study of the Greek, and the other for that of the Hebrew language. The work itself is generally described by Panzer, under the title

[a] I find mention indeed of *Alphabetum Hebraicum & Græcum*, 4to, *anni* 1507, *Gourmont*, in the *Bibliotheca Askeviana*.

of *Francisci Tissardi Grammatica Hebraica & Græca.* The contents of this impression [b] (which is in 4to) may be found at greater extent in his *Annal. Typogr.* tom. VII. p. 532.

After this first essay, Chevillier finds no specimen of Hebrew printing at Paris before 1520, excepting a few lines by Jodocus Badius in his *Annotationes Doctorum*, on the Orators, Poets, and Grammarians, printed in folio, *anno* 1511. Panzer however enables us to supply this *hiatus*, by the mention of an impression *anni* 1516; viz. *Alphabetum Hebraicum & Græcum. Theodori Gazæ introductivæ Grammaticæ liber primus, secundus, tertius, quartus*, 4to, from the press also of Ægidius Gourmont: each of these *opuscula* being printed *seorsum*, with *insigne, lemma, & nomen*, distinct, and the date annexed to the last only in a Greek colophon. I have noticed this book before, under the Greek impressions of the year. Tissard had indeed projected an impression of the Hebrew text of the sacred Scriptures, of which he possessed a MS. of great antiquity; and, agreeably to his predilection for uniting those ancient languages, he intended also to add the Greek and

[b] Chevillier gives the colophon thus: *Operoso huic opusculo extremam imposuit manum Ægidius Gourmontius, integerrimus ac fidelissimus, duce Francisco Tyssardo Ambacæo, Græcarum & Hebrææarum literarum Parisiis impressor, anno* 1508, *Kal. Februar.*

Latin versions. But his premature decease prevented the execution of this useful purpose.

Afterwards, at the instance of Estienne Ponchet, archbishop of Sens, and of Guillaume Petit, bishop of Troyes, Francis I. invited to Paris from Rome AUGUSTINO GIUSTINIANI, a noble Genoese, and bishop of Nebbio; well skilled in the oriental tongues, and known by his edition of the Psalms in Hebrew, Greek, Chaldaic, and Arabic, with three Latin versions, and notes, printed under his direction at Genoa by P. Porrus, *anno* 1516. He settled at Paris accordingly *circa* 1519, dignified as *Regius Professor* of Hebrew and Arabic; and establishing his school for those languages in the college of Rheims, was attended by many pupils of rank and genius. The king appointed him a stipend, and created him his almoner. This scholar caused punches and dies to be formed at his own expense for casting Hebrew characters, in order to facilitate the acquisition of Hebrew books; and resolved upon employing Gilles de Gourmont in the renewed undertaking of impressions in the sacred language. The first Hebrew work which Giustiniani appears to have committed to the press was the Grammar of Rabbi Moses Kimchi in 4to; thus more particularly described: *Liber viarum linguæ sanctæ Rabi Mose Quimchi, cum additionibus Episcopi Nebiensis, Hebraice. Væne-*

unt Parrhisiis, apud Gourmontium. This work Giustiniani inscribed to the two French prelates, at whose instance he had been invited to France [c].

It appears from the epistle prefixed, that this book was finished the last day of February *anni* 1520, after Giustiniani had been labouring a full

[c] The epistle dedicatory is as follows: "Secundus jam annus agitur, Patres cum primis venerandi, ex quo Christianissimus Rex, vestro consilio vestraque persuasione me Roma accitum Parrhisios jussit accedere, gratia edocendæ varietatem linguarum juventutis, quæ ex toto orbe huc certatim confluit. Cœpimus, ut par erat, ab Hebraica; nam Chaldæa & Arabica ita ab Hebraica pendent, ut si quis illas discere tentet, non prius hac degustata, Sisyphi lapidem volvere credatur . . . . . Verum ut sunt omnium rerum illustrium ardua principia, laboraverunt hactenus auditores nostri librorum penuria . . . itaque enisi sumus characteres Hebraicos hic scalpi, librosque formari, quod nunquam antea factum invenimus: & vix post decimum octavum mensem obtinuimus ut codices typis his nostris excuderentur. Tantæ nimirum molis fuit in solo non assueto, tametsi bonarum omnium artium fœcundissimo, divinam plantare vineam. Atqui habebunt deinceps regis nostri beneficio omnis generis scholastici libros, non Hebræos modo, sed Arabicos & Chaldæos, non minus exacte formatos quam parva impensa. Libuit vero initium facere a Quimchi nostri Grammatica . . . . At vos, o colendi patroni, qui primi, quæ vestra est sapientia, excogitastis illustrare Parrhisiense Gymnasium pulcherrima hac linguarum varietate, accipite primi consilii vestri primos fructus, quos clientuli vestri sterilis & infœcundus hortus protulit, &c. . . . Valete. *Parrhisiis, prid. Kal. Mart.* 1520."

year and half, to provide a fount of characters, for the establishment of a Hebrew press at Paris: and that it was, strictly speaking, the first work entirely Hebrew, that was produced there. The words *libros formari, quod nunquam antea factum invenimus*, are terms, says Chevillier, which are not *contre la vérité;* for the Grammar of Tissard, printed *anno* 1508, was not *un livre purement Hébreu*, but a Latin work, having only words, lines, and a few *opuscula Hebraica* interspersed.

In June following, the second Hebrew work appeared, in 4to. This was *Libri Ruth & Threni, ac libellus de numeris, Hebraice, ex recognitione A. Justiniani Episcopi Nebiensis, Par. ap. Gourmontium*, 1520, *prid. Non. Jun.* Separately also was given from the same press, as an auxiliary work, *Ruth & Threni, Latine per A. Justinianum, eodem anno*, 4to. A student was employed to superintend the Hebrew impression; who, in the prefatory address, congratulates the learned prelate on his having raised up from a state of absolute extinction the study of the sacred language in the Parisian university: and both by his public lectures, and activity in procuring the publication of Hebrew books, formed a body of scholars to some degree of critical skill and erudition in that tongue. Another student composed the fol-

lowing verses, which are inserted in the second folio:

> Si tantum cupias sacros liquores
> Mente haurire avida, & viam polorum
> Pernotam facere adsonante lingua,
> Confestim virides petas recessus
> Agri Justinii; legesque abunde
> Sanctarum documenta literarum,
> Quæ hic congesta brevis tenet libellus.

Of the works printed at Paris under the direction of the bishop of Nebbio, Chevillier had seen only these two Hebrew quartos, the works of Jacobus Bracelleus of Genoa, in the Latin language, printed by Jod. Badius *anno* 1520; and three other Latin folios, viz. *Chalcidius in Timæum Platonis*, inscribed to the cardinal of Lorraine; *Director Dubitantium* of Rabbi Moses, son of Maimon, inscribed to the archbishop of Sens; and, lastly, *Porcheti Victoria adversus Hebræos*, dedicated to the bishop of Troyes. These six works only were found in the library of the Sorbonne; but the bishop, in the account of his own life, says, as Chevillier cites the passage: "Ho "fatto imprimere in Parigi dodici opere in utilità "degli studiosi." This learned Italian, to whom the city of Paris was obliged for so much valuable instruction in the oriental tongues, and for the earliest establishment of an effective Hebrew

press, unfortunately perished some time afterwards by shipwreck, in his passage to his bishopric in the island of Corsica. From the time of Giustiniani, the printing-houses at Paris were generally furnished with Hebrew characters; but the number of works printed in that language was for some time small; because the Jews, who were for the most part employed as correctors of the Hebrew press, had not the liberty of unrestrained domiciliation in France.

As to impressions in the other Eastern languages, I shall content myself with mentioning, that the celebrated Guillaume Postel, having been sent by Francis I. to the Levant in search of manuscripts and other monuments of literature, brought back to France the characters and alphabets of a great variety of languages: viz. the Chaldaic, Samaritan, Arabic, Armenian, Indian, &c. The alphabets of all these languages he made public in a work printed at Paris by Pierre Vidouvé, *anno* 1538, under this title: *Linguarum XII. characteribus differentium Alphabeta, Introductio, & legendi modus.* In this book the *Oratio Dominica,* and some short prayer or other, are given in most of the different languages, of which it exhibits the alphabets.

In the same year appeared his *Grammatica Arabica, Par. ap. Petrum Gromorsium;* and his book *De Originibus: seu de Hebr. Lingua, de*

Gentis antiquitate, deque variarum linguarum affinitate, 4*to*, *apud eundem*. For want of dies and types, Postel was obliged to have these alphabets engraved. The title of the last mentioned work exhibits (*in characteribus Latinis, Græcis, Hebraicis, Chaldaicis vel Syriacis, Samaritanis, Arabicis, Indicis, & Æthiopicis*) this sentence: "In "magnis voluisse sat est," &c. Prefixed appears *G. Postelli ad Petr. Palmerium Archiep. Viennensem Epistola, Non. Jan.* 1538. Such is briefly the history of the oriental press in its commencement at Paris. From the establishments of Wechel, and of other contemporary typographers, very respectable specimens of Hebrew printing successively appeared: and Robert Estienne soon afterwards carried the art in this, as well as in other departments, to its highest perfection. Having thus recently introduced the mention of Postel, I cannot perhaps more interestingly conclude the present section, than by subjoining some further account of that extraordinary man; in whose case we see the observation of the poet strikingly exemplified, that

"Great wits to madness nearly are allied."

Guillaume Postel was a native of Barenton, a village in the diocese of Avranches en la basse Normandie. His parents were very poor: and he was deprived of them at eight years of

age. Even at that age his eagerness for knowledge was such, that he studied for entire days, scarce allowing himself time to satisfy the cravings of nature. Distress obliged him to leave his native place. At thirteen he repaired to the village of Sagi, near Pontoise en Vexin. Here he obtained a little money by teaching school; which tempted him to remove to Paris for his own improvement. Scarce had Postel arrived at the French capital, when he became the dupe of some rogues, who, whilst he was asleep, carried off not only his money, but his clothes also, leaving him in the greatest distress. To add to his calamities, he was now attacked with a dysentery; which we are told continued eighteen months, and reduced him to the verge of the grave.

Recovering by degrees a little strength, he repaired to a neighbouring village in harvest time; where, by gleaning, he contrived to raise a small sum, which enabled him to provide for present wants, and even to purchase a few clothes. He repaired again to Paris, and obtained from some Jews there a Hebrew alphabet, which he committed to memory. He then borrowed a grammar of the sacred tongue, and, without the aid of a master, soon made a considerable proficiency in the language. Like diligence and exertions enabled him to obtain an acquaintance with the Greek. Postel now began to acquire notoriety and repu-

tation. He formed an acquaintance with a Portuguese nobleman, by whose interest he was offered a professor's chair in Portugal, with an annual pension of four hundred ducats; which he thought proper however to decline.

Jean Recours, bailli d'Amiens, a person of merit and erudition, now persuaded Postel to accompany him to Amiens. After some stay there, he attended to witness a public spectacle at Rouen; where, meeting with Jean Raquier, abbé d'Arras, he was again induced to return to Paris, to fill the office of tutor to his nephew. Postel was now in easy circumstances, and even refused several advantageous posts which were successively offered him.

Francis I. soon afterwards sent le Sieur de la Forest on a special mission to Constantinople. Postel having previously attracted the notice of that nobleman, attended him on this embassy. In this expedition he perfected himself in the Greek language, and learned the Arabic. He is said to have collected a number of manuscripts written in that language, and in Syriac; and some maintain that king Francis himself supplied Postel with a fund of four thousand crowns for this purpose; in order to increase the literary treasures of his Bibliothèque de Fontainebleau.

Through various accidents, it is also said that some of the precious manuscripts, collected by

Postel, were left in pledge to the duke of Bavaria; others with the doge of Venice. He first brought into Europe the Syriac version of the New Testament. It was printed at the expense of the emperor Ferdinand I. who caused characters to be cast for this special purpose. Postel, on his return to France, was most favourably received by Francis I. and his sister, the queen of Navarre. Soon afterwards, he published together the alphabets of twelve different languages, printed (as we have already noticed) *Parisiis, anno* 1538. The same year came forth his treatise *De Originibus Hebraicis*, and the affinities of various languages; and about the same time his Arabic Grammar, *Par. sine anno.* All these three works are composed in the Latin language.

By great offers of preferment he was invited to embrace an ecclesiastical life. But as he had added mathematical science to his other extraordinary attainments, he preferred the chair of Professor Royal *en Mathématiques & en Langues*, which was given him, with a salary of two hundred ducats. He received also a pension from the queen of Navarre; but afterwards incurred her displeasure by interfering in favour of the chancellor Poyet, who was offensive to this princess, and had been entirely disgraced. A long and painful journey, which he undertook in behalf of his degraded friend, to Montmarson in the Pyre-

nees, where the king and queen of Navarre had their residence, not only proved of no avail for Du Poyet, but as we are told, very calamitous to Postel; who lost his horses and baggage, and with difficulty preserved his personal liberty.

The unfavourable state of his circumstances again it is supposed, induced him to quit France. He visited Vienna, where J. Ant. Widmanstadt acknowledges to have received great assistance from him, in the preparations for the impression of the *Novum Testamentum, Syriace,* which came out at length, under the superintendence of that scholar, *anno* 1555. Some personal dangers, by which Postel was here threatened, induced him soon to quit the imperial city.

After various other adventures, Postel is found at Rome; where, by a personal acquaintance with the founder of the order of Jesuits, Ignatius Loyola, he is led to solicit and obtain an admission into that society. But the strange visionary notions, which he now began to intermix with his religious opinions and discourses, soon rendered him offensive to the whole order, and he was expelled the society. Some say he found his way into the dungeon of the Inquisition, and was delivered from this perilous situation only by breaking his prison, in concert with others who suffered under the like confinement.

I shall not enlarge upon Postel's strange reve-

ries, which some impute to his eager perusal of Rabbinical books, and his attachment to judicial astrology; his pretended revelations, and his connexion with a woman of Venice, satirically denominated by Pasquier his "Grand-mère Jeanne," whom he pretended to introduce to the public under an extraordinary character, "'la Rédemp-" trice des femmes,' comme Jésus Christ avoit été "le Rédempteur des hommes,'" in a work which it is said was printed at Paris *anno* 1553, in 12mo, under this title; ***Des très merveilleuses victoires des Femmes***[d]*:* his personating the character of

[d] Such is the statement, or rather mistatement, given by some, of Postel's strange notion in this particular. But the fact is this. He maintains that the human nature "ha sa formelle "partie divisée en deux parties, l'une la raisonnable ou su-"périeure, l'autre la sensuelle ou inférieure." Adopting an old distinction of philosophers, he calls "la supérieure partie "*animus* ou l'anime, et l'inférieure, *anima* ou l'ame." Of these parts, corrupted by the fall, he pretends that "la partie mas-"culine paternelle et première" is to be restored by Jesus, the new Adam; the part "inférieure," &c. to be restored or regenerated by the spouse of Jesus, the new Eve, "la madre "Jehochanna," or "Jehanna," whose name, (he says,) like that of Jesus, bespeaks its effect (meaning "Grace de Dieu.") He the "Père mental," She the "Mère spirituelle." Postel calls himself the firstborn son of this union, and says he is commissioned to proclaim the mystery to the world. *Les très merveilleuses Victoires des Femmes du Nouveau Monde, &c.* one of the scarcest of Postel's productions, including a strange compound of insanity and erudition, reminds us in many particulars of a modern delusion. Many of those, who have

St. John the Evangelist, and inducing a goldsmith to represent that of John the Baptist, in a costume and with a style of preaching suitable to the character. For these and other particulars, foreign to our present purpose, the reader may consult the Mémoire of M. de Sallengre, which I shall hereafter more particularly specify. It is said that the goldsmith was actually burnt alive, in pursuance of an arrêt of the parliament of Toulouse, and that Postel ran great risk of sharing the same fate. As for him, after various migrations, in which he appeared at Venice, Geneva, Basil, Dijon, and at the court of the emperor Ferdinand I, and after a public retractation of his errors, he was recalled to Paris by the king, and replaced in his chair of Professor Royal. But falling again into the public propagation of his visions and extravagant doctrines, he was at length shut up for life in the monastery of S. Martin des Champs. There he continued eighteen years; and died *anno* 1581.

Francis I. regarded him " comme la merveille " du monde." The greatest sought his conversation. The learned honoured and admired his erudition, and considered his words as oracles. It is asserted, that when he taught at the Collège des Lombards at Paris, his auditory was too numerous

formerly written of the reveries of Postel, acknowledge that they have been unable to procure a sight of the book.

for the great hall to contain, and he was frequently obliged to address them, assembled in the open air, from a window. His religious extravagancies drew upon him from divines of all parties as much censure, as his learning procured him praise. M. de Sallengre can only reconcile the one with the other by a saying of Seneca: " nullum magnum inge-" nium sine mixtura dementiæ."

Du Verdier, speaking of Postel, says he had the epithet given him, " d'abysme de savoir:" that, had he not imbibed an inclination to become an innovator in matters of religion, he would certainly have been one of the most rare and able men the world ever produced. But, on account of his heretical notions, his public lectures were interdicted, and he narrowly escaped being burned as a heretic, by a public abjuration of his errors. He was nevertheless, adds that author, sentenced to be confined for life in the monastery of S. Martin des Champs, in Paris; where, in consideration of his profound erudition, *la portion d'un moine* was assigned him for his support. He says his death happened *anno* 1582, after he had attained the extraordinary age of more than one hundred years.

Du Verdier declares also, that, in company with certain booksellers of Paris, he once visited Postel in his confinement, in order to exhibit to him various Arabic manuscripts, and to take his opinion concerning them. The discourse having acci-

dentally turned upon some points of theology and philosophy, he says, that Postel began to talk in a very eccentric manner, and gave manifest proofs of a disordered intellect. The list of his French works, which is long, may be found in the *Bibliothèque* of Du Verdier; and that of his Latin productions in Simler's *Epitome* of the *Bibliotheca Gesneri.* At the head of his book *de nativitate Mediatoris ultima nunc futura,* printed at Basil, 1547, he expresses himself thus: "Autore " Spiritu Christi, Exscriptore G. Postello;" sentiments which are repeated in the preface.

M. de Sallengre has collected a life of Postellus from various sources. It is inserted in his *Mémoires de Littérature,* tom. I. p. 1. seqq. *Haye,* 1715, 12mo. He has prefixed a portrait of Postel, well engraved. He found this portrait in an uncommon work, entitled *Histoire du Monastère de S. Martin des Champs,* written in Latin by Martin Marrier, one of the *Religieux* of this monastery. It appeared *Parisiis, anno* 1637, 4to. The author says, he entered into the society anno 1583, and that he occupied the same apartments which Postel had possessed before him. Beneath the portrait, which was said to have been done from the life, are the following lines:

Une langue en ce chef parla maints idiomes;
L'âme de ce portrait environna tout lieu:
Cet esprit fut profond, docte entre les grands hommes:

Et fut le bien aimé des favoris de Dieu.
Toi quiconque verras cette morte peinture,
Asseure toi de voir un chef, qui a compris
L'un des plus généreux & sublimes esprits,
Que Dieu de nôtre tems ait mis en la Nature.
Tout ce que le Ciel prend dedans sa couverture,
Fut contenu dedans un si petit pourpris:
Tous lieux de terre & mer, dessus un globe escrits,
Furent escrits en lui d'une vive escriture.
Il vid d'œil & d'esprit tout le rond Univers,
Il sçeut des Nations les langages divers,
Il méditoit en lui la Concorde du Monde.
Il fut pauvre & haï, mais non des gens de bien,
Il avoit tout en lui, & ne possédoit rien:
Or il jouit du bien, qui en tous biens abonde.

Fluent in various languages his tongue,
Boundless his spirit's intellectual sphere;
Profound in science, wisdom's studious throng
Confess'd him, and heaven's favourites held him dear.
Thou who may'st on this lifeless portrait gaze,
Learn what a soul inform'd the original:
A soul more generous and sublime, than all
That God hath wak'd to life in these our days.
Each object under heaven's expansive bound,
Reflecting bright, this mirrour small display'd:
And there in graphic semblance were portray'd
All realms and seas—the world's terraqueous bound.
His keen glance pierc'd the universal range,
He scann'd the nations—learnt their idioms strange:
One faith for all his ardent zeal design'd.
Poor and despis'd, yet by the good caress'd;
Himself a mine, whilst nothing he possess'd;
How should he not be rich! in whom all wealth combin'd?

CHAPTER VII.

INTRODUCTORY TO THE LIFE OF ROBERT ESTIENNE—RISE AND PROGRESS OF LUTHERANISM IN FRANCE.

I HAVE already brought down my account of the progress of the Parisian Greek press, in some measure beyond that period, when Robert Estienne commenced his professional career. It is time I should now enter upon the detail of his life and labours: but as this supereminent artist becomes no less a subject of interest on account of the religious persecution which he endured, than of the unparalleled services which by his judgment, skill, and enterprise, he rendered to literature; in order that the circumstances of the times, and the occasion of those jealousies and suspicions, which stimulated the Sorbonne to violent measures of hostility against him, may be fully understood, I think it expedient to take a short preliminary view of the early history of Lutheranism in France; the particulars of which, though derived principally from Catholic writers, may, even from such authorities, be ascertained with accuracy sufficient for our purpose.

MARTIN LUTHER was born Nov. 10th, 1483. At the age of twenty-two, viz. *anno* 1505, he entered into the society of the Augustines, and received from them the order of priesthood. The talents which he displayed, procured him the appointment of preacher and lecturer in the university of Wittemberg; where he was advanced to the academical rank of Doctor. The elector of Saxony, having heard him preach, conceived a high esteem for him, and paid the expenses of his degree. By Joannes Staupitius, a person of high family and influence, and vicar-general of the Augustines in Germany, he was charged (if we may credit our Catholic authorities) with the office of writing against indulgences. But Protestant writers strenuously assert, that he engaged in this bold undertaking spontaneously, and not in compliance with the mandate or advice of any other person. However this might be, in the year 1517, he affixed on the gate of the church of Wittemberg twenty-four propositions, relating to the specific subject in question. This was his first act of open hostility against the church of Rome.

In the year 1519, Charles V. was elected emperor. In 1520, the disputes had proceeded so far, and the boldness of Luther had so much increased, that Leo X. thought it proper to issue his bull in condemnation of forty-one propositions,

which Luther had published subsequently to the former. In the same year he addressed to the Pope his book on *Christian Liberty;* a work which was censured by the universities. He was at length excommunicated by the Pope; in return for which he wrote against "the execrable Bull "of Antichrist." "They excommunicate me," said he; "I excommunicate them. Let us break their "bonds in sunder, and cast their yoke from off "our necks."—His next proceeding was to compose and publish a defence of the condemned articles.

M. Gaillard[a] asserts that, before 1520, Luther had referred himself to the judgment of the universities of Basil, Fribourg, Louvain, and Erfurdt, where he had studied; and of Paris, (hoping the affair of the *concordat* had irritated that society against Rome;) and that he had flattered the Parisian university with the title of *Mother of Sciences and of sound Theology;* but that when the sentence of its members, like that of the rest, was given against him, he and his followers termed them *Theologasters; the most ignorant and stupid of all men;* their censure they termed *Decretum furiosum;* asserted in some of their writings that the whole faculty of theology at Paris

[a] Hist. de François I. Roi de France, &c. *Seconde édition,* 12mo, *à Paris,* 1769.

was covered with leprosy, and that they taught only the doctrine of Antichrist. In consequence of the bull of Luther's condemnation, his writings were publicly burnt at Rome. Luther, by way of reprisals, burned at Wittemberg the decretals, and in particular the bull by which he had been condemned. This also happened in 1520.

The diet of Worms having assembled *anno* 1521, Hieronymus Aleander, (of whose services to early Greek literature at Paris we have already made special mention,) now become papal nuncio, violently urges there the measure of Luther's condemnation; and that he should either be put to death, or sent in chains to Rome. By the interest however of the elector of Saxony, a "safe "conduct" is granted him. He appears at Worms, and presents himself before the diet, April 17th, 1521; is dismissed by the emperor on the 26th of May, following; retires to the castle of Westberg, his Patmos; systematises his plan; translates the New Testament into German, and procures his version to be disseminated. By some of the catholic princes it was ordered to be publicly burned; and Cochlæus, a violent antagonist of Luther, boasts of having defeated, by his own zeal and stratagem, a design of having executed at Cologne an impression intended to be dispersed in England. During this interval, Carlostadt, an archdeacon and a professor of Wittemberg, and one of Lu-

ther's early friends, first marries, then raises a violent party at Wittemberg, breaks the images and crucifix in the great church, and overturns the altars there. Luther, indignant at such proceedings, quits his retirement, and calls Carlostadt to a severe account.

To trace the progress of Lutheranism in Germany, beyond what concerns its influence on the policy of Francis I. and its effects in France, is not our present object. In the diet of Nuremberg, in 1523, the Lutherans had manifestly the upper hand, and presented their *centum gravamina.* Francis was attentive in observing what part the emperor would take, that he might espouse the contrary, and encourage against him the malecontents of Germany, as *he* did against Francis those of his own kingdom. It cannot be doubted, that the rivalship and mutual jealousy of these two potentates was one of the most effectual instruments, employed by divine Providence to give success and stability to the reformation. Some years afterwards, Zuinglius, who, adopting the opinions first maintained by Carlostadt, differed with Luther on the subject of the sacrament, and denied the real presence, wrote his exposition of the Christian faith, and addressed it to Francis I; and the doctrines, which he taught on this subject, gave a decided tinge and character to that species of Lutheranism, which was first

propagated in France. The French king was careful to maintain a correspondence with the Lutherans of Germany; and though, in the character of a Christian prince, he affected to exhort them to re-enter into the community of the church of Rome, yet he was not sorry that his advice was disregarded; since the continuance of the schism assured him of a party amongst them against the emperor, in case of necessity. Furthermore, when the Protestant princes had come to this resolution, that it was lawful to unite their arms, and wage a war of resistance against those who pretended to control them by force in matters of conscience, and even in such case against the emperor himself; and concluded (in 1532) the league of Smalcalde for that purpose; Francis consented to become a party to that league, and the protector of it.

Various circumstances, more or less remote, might seem to have promised a favourable reception of the new opinions in France. Louis XII. had quarrelled with pope Julius, convoked a council at Pisa to depose him, and struck a medal with this inscription, which Luther adopted: PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN. Under Francis I. the affair of the *Concordat* had irritated the clergy, the parliament, and the university. Leo X. and Adrian VI. had generally been inimical to Francis, and more favourable to his rival: and Gail-

lard acknowledges, that if Luther had appeared in France, these, and such like circumstances, might have procured him the same success there, as in Germany. But the fervour of the reformation was exhausted by its distance; and his writings were comparatively little read by the people, and examined at first by theologians only. By them they were condemned; and therefore could not, in strict policy, be adopted by the government. Both Charles V. and Francis I. were sensible that the name of heretic would have been very injurious to their pretensions upon Italy. Lutheranism was represented as favourable to republicanism, and prejudicial to monarchy. M. Gaillard observes, that even Henry VIII. separated from Rome only by claiming the supremacy; conceiving, that to receive the Lutheran reformation would be to impose upon himself a yoke. So that all reasons of state concurred to render Francis I. averse from Lutheranism. Such is the way in which inconsistencies in his measures have been accounted for: by nature and inclination he was liberal and humane; but through policy, real or imaginary, he became occasionally cruel with regard to reputed heretics.

The doctors of the Sorbonne were the first to enter into the discussion of the Lutheran propositions; and by their *Censuræ, anni* 1521, to condemn them in succession under particular qualifications. But they commenced with this senti-

ment in their preamble, " that flames, rather than " reasoning, ought to be employed against the ar- " rogance of Luther." By virtue of this condemnation, the parliament caused Luther's books to be burned in the porch of Nôtre Dame. The bishops assembled at Paris condemned Carlostadt; and the faculty censured also the writings of Melanchthon, especially his Apology for the works of Luther. They acknowledged, that the graces of his style rendered him more dangerous than Luther. Yet still, it is evident the leaven of Lutheranism fermented in the schools. During a series of years, we observe the Sorbonne engaged in repressing Lutheran propositions, which French reasoners either advanced of themselves, or imported from Germany. The heterodox were never tired of writing, the Sorbonne of censuring, and the parliament of sanctioning informations against distributors of heretical books now forgotten; and which, if left unnoticed, might never have acquired celebrity.

Josse Clictoüe, a doctor of Navarre, some of whose productions we have already noticed, composed and published his *Anti-Lutherus;* a book little known to modern times, but once in high vogue with the Catholics. The Lutherans turned to ridicule the writings of Clictoüe; and above all, the censures of the Sorbonne; and the Sorbonne again proceeded to censure their jests.

All the doctrinal decisions of these times reject

the use of translations of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. The reformed assert, that before them, that sacred book was almost as unknown to the populace, as the Koran: that, of a hundred bishops, scarce one could be found who had read a single apostolic epistle, or had even any acquaintance with the gospels. One of the most distinguished doctors of the Sorbonne is said to have declared, in a tone of self-gratulation, that, during a period of fifty years, he had not known what the term *New Testament* meant. Erasmus had met with theologians who, during the course of forty years, had never read the same book. The authors of *L'Histoire Gallicane* deny these imputations; but allege, that at this period the church had reason to be diffident about the use of translations of the Bible, because the sectaries, as one means of insinuating their errors, produced as the word of God, what they had falsified and corrupted with that view! Erasmus and Luther asserted, that to burn heretics was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel; the condemnation of which proposition was constantly repeated in all the doctrinal decisions of the Sorbonne. P. Courayer considers this *censure* of theirs more scandalous, than all the propositions of Luther. Such cruel measures were revolting to the natural feelings of Francis. His first movement was aversion; and he began by rescuing some of the victims of intolerance.

The syndic of the Sorbonne was then one Noel Bedièr, who affected the name of Beda, after the venerable Bede. He was a fanatical pedant, and an incessant disputant; always on the look out for heresy, and for some new victim to persecute. It was a gratification to him to have been born in this age of heterodoxy. He believed men heretics before they were so, and was constantly goading the Sorbonne to censure; and Catholic writers acknowledge, that they had to reproach themselves with decisions, which would never have been promulged without him, and which have tended to their discredit. He was desirous to burn Jaques Merlin, a doctor of Navarre, for having written in favour of Origen; and Jaques le Fevre d'Estaples, for having imagined the discovery of three Magdalens in the Gospels. Both were condemned by the Sorbonne; and the parliament commenced the prosecution of the latter for heresy; but the king interposed, and forbade them to disturb him. The Sorbonne wished to condemn another work of Le Fevre's; but Francis interdicted their censure. In these mild measures he was influenced by Guillaume Petit his confessor, once a Dominican, afterwards successively bishop of Troyes and of Senlis. Many of the storms, raised by the fierce Beda, were allayed by this prudent and enlightened man.

The dawn of learning sufficed to illuminate

some candid minds. Men began no longer to limit their studies to scholastic theology; they shewed a disposition to throw off the trammels of the schools. Luther himself, though bred in the same discipline, professed to declare war against scholastics and sophists. He flattered men of liberal science, and the French monarch, for the protection which he extended to them; recommended to him the Lutherans, as persons who distinguished themselves by literature and philosophy; and sent him those of his own works which were most likely to please him. Zuinglius did the same, dedicating to him his book, *On true and false Religion*, and, as we have already mentioned, his *Exposition of the Christian Faith.* The several sects of the reformed, though at variance in Germany, politically united together in France; and, without distinction of their parties, on the side of Lutherans were ranged all the *gens des lettres;* and all the enemies of reform were considered as scholastics, and avowed enemies of liberal erudition.

Guillaume Briçonet, bishop of Meaux, a patron of letters, wishing to attract into his diocese the most meritorious professors, did not regulate his choice by the decision of Beda, and the theological faculty. He protected Le Fevre, before mentioned; Guillaume Farel, who afterwards became the coadjutor of Calvin; Gerard Roussel, a wavering

Catholic, who became by persecution a decided Lutheran; and François Vatable, the Hebrew professor, whose notes, collected by his scholars, were condemned after his death by the faculty of Paris, because they were published by Robert Estienne. During the imprisonment of Francis I. the chancellor Du Prat, a despotic minister and prelate, consulted them about the means of extirpating heresy. Noel Beda would have all burned, whom the Sorbonne condemned. That body, though not altogether, yet were too much inclined to his opinion: the parliament, and even the kingdom at large, were advocates of severity. Hitherto Francis had resisted the torrent; but after the battle of Pavia, the parliament, having assumed a higher tone in its remonstrances, insisted on the necessity of exterminating heresy; resumed its former proceedings against J. le Fevre, and forced Gerard Roussel to quit Meaux and the kingdom. The bishop of Meaux had himself banished Farel, and some other doctors of suspected faith: but they had already spread among the people the reformed opinions. Bulls and mandates were torn down, and placards affixed, describing the Pope as Antichrist. All this was done in Meaux, which was in France the cradle of Lutheranism.

In 1525, Jean le Clerc, a wool-carder, who had distinguished himself by this species of zeal, was whipped and branded. The same person, having

again offended as an image-breaker at Metz, was mutilated, crowned with hot iron, and thrown into the flames. He was the first martyr of Lutheranism in France, and denominated by Beza the restorer of the churches of Metz and of Meaux. At the former of these cities some priests preached the reformed doctrines. One, named Jean Châtelain, was burned at a neighbouring village, forasmuch as at Metz it was feared his execution would excite a tumult. Such severities served only to promote the diffusion of the new opinions. About the same period, François Lambert, a distinguished Cordelier, deserted his cloister, and married. He retired to Wittemberg, was protected by the elector, and published a relation of the martyrdom of Jean Châtelain. He also addressed to Francis I. an eulogy on matrimony, stating his own reasons for having entered into that state. This person was the principal instrument of introducing the reformation into the states of the Landgrave of Hesse. Theodore de S. Chaumont, abbé de S. Antoine de Viennois, an inquisitor-general and apostolic commissary for the extirpation of heresy, who had contributed much to the burning of Châtelain, consulted the Sorbonne on some passages in the sermons of Wolfgang Schuch, a German ecclesiastic. The faculty condemned them, but the priest escaped by retracting. The Sorbonne also condemned

some propositions of Amé Mosquet, a Dominican, who renewed the distinction of the Magdalens. This man seasonably abjured his errors, being already in the hands of his judges.

Beda and his associates, who had hitherto proceeded triumphantly, at length found, in Pierre Caroli, a suspected preacher and a doctor also of the bishopric of Meaux, an antagonist, who could neutralize the brutal force of power by the arts of legal subtilty. This man contrived, by appealing from court to court, to oppose one juridical process to another; and managed so dexterously, that neither the officiality, the parliament, nor the council, could ever pronounce definitively against him. When forbidden to preach, he proposed to explain the Psalms in the college of Cambray. Interdicted by the faculty from this exercise, he answered, "I shall obey: but as I have com-"menced the exposition of the 21st Psalm, allow "me to finish it." When this was refused, he placed on the college gate the following placard: "Pierre Caroli, willing to obey the orders of the "sacred faculty, ceases to lecture. He will re-"sume his readings, when it pleases God, at the "place where he left off, viz. at the verse, 'They "pierced my hands and my feet.'" The bishop of Meaux himself, having sanctioned a book of epistles and gospels in the vulgar tongue for the use of his diocese, was accused of Lutheranism,

and of approving translations of the Scriptures. Jacques Pauvant and Mathieu Saulnier, two doctors of his district much in his confidence, were arrested on the charge of having advanced Lutheran propositions. The former was burned alive à la Grève; the latter escaped with difficulty; and the Bishop himself underwent a severe examination. The parliament pronounced that the progress of heresy was owing to the negligence of the bishops; and the Diocesan of Meaux was condemned to pay a fine, equal to the expense of the proceedings which had been instituted against his own clergy and friends.

Francis I. still in this year 1525, a captive, exerted such authority as he then possessed, through the duchess of Angoulême, to repress these severe proceedings. Almost all the doctors, then prosecuted for heresy, were persons of great eminence for learning in the French nation. The bishop of Meaux had selected them as such; and reputation of this kind never escaped the observation of Francis I. He saw in all these proceedings, instituted against merit, the natural insurrection of barbarism against science. The duchess of Alençon his sister, afterwards queen of Navarre, partook yet more largely of these sentiments. Her faith was brought under suspicion even of her brother; for all the "savans," whom she attached to herself, had the "stigmata" of heresy; and

some of them not without reason. After she was married to the king of Navarre, she continued to give an asylum in her states to those literati heretics or not, whom persecution drove from the diocese of Meaux. Such were Le Fevre and Roussel, before mentioned. For the former of these, she procured a peaceful and honourable seclusion in old age, as we have already elsewhere stated.

Louis Berquin, of whom I have made some mention in my introduction to the annals of the French Gothic press, was a gentleman of Artois, distinguished for scientific attainments, and exemplary in morals, purity of conduct, and charity to the poor. He had learned from Erasmus to despise the monks, and the scholastic jargon of the day: lived as a Catholic, but was observed to disapprove of prayer to the Virgin, and of the extravagant titles given to her in the rituals of the church. This was to render himself suspected of Lutheranism. When he had thus attracted the enmity of Beda and the Sorbonne, who presumed that he was also in the practice of reading books condemned by their censures, they caused a strict search to be made in the house of Berquin, then at Paris; and had the satisfaction of finding there both interdicted works of Luther, Melanchthon, and Carlostadt, and certain unpublished manuscripts by Berquin himself; of which they made the same use to criminate him, as if they had

been published. The parliament cited him, and required him to abjure; which he refused, and was consequently imprisoned. Francis I. offended at these violent measures against the acknowledged friend of Erasmus, ordered his immediate liberation. Berquin flattered by this triumph, became more unguarded than before in his expressions against the monks and divines; and being an enthusiastic admirer of the writings of Erasmus, eagerly employed his pen in translating and in eulogizing them, though earnestly advised by Erasmus himself to be more cautious. These translations became the subject of censure by the faculty; but Berquin continued to speak favourably of Lutheranism at Paris, and in the diocese of Amiens; to collect Lutheran works, and to assist in composing them. He was again arrested by an order of the parliament; the faculty instituted a new examination of his papers; and measures were again proceeding to extremity, when the king a second time insisted on his liberation.

Beda and his colleagues, not a little enraged that through the interest of Erasmus in the royal favour, Berquin had again escaped their vengeance; and actuated moreover by personal resentment against Erasmus himself, on account of the freedom of many of his writings, by which he had held them up to ridicule; now resolved to

turn their measures against him. One of their doctors, a Chartreux, named le Couturier or Sutor, was induced to enter the lists against him in the way of literary controversy. The syndic Beda had made, to his own disparagement, a similar attempt; but afterwards came to the conclusion, that the most effectual way of injuring the feelings and reputation of Erasmus, would be to make his writings, like those of Luther and others, the subject of a public censure: hoping that if not his literary, yet his theological reputation would be greatly deteriorated by that measure. Through Beda's importunity, commissioners were named by the university, the condemnation of Erasmus precipitated, and the censure of his works concluded, Dec. 16th, 1527; but not made public till some time after. Berquin on this occasion loudly renewed his exclamations against the faculty; and wearied the king with frequent memorials on the subject of his own case and that of Erasmus. But Francis, says M. Gaillard, from the time when the insult had been offered to the statue of the Virgin[b], seems to have experienced a great change in his sentiments, with regard to those who were accused of advocating the new opinions. From this epoque of 1528, his proceedings against Lutherans were evidently marked with more rigour.

[b] Ante, see the Life of Budæus, chap. II.

He ordered the process against Berquin, which he had before suppressed, to be now resumed; and appointed as his judges twelve commissioners taken from the parliament. By them he was sentenced to witness the burning of his own books in public; to make the *amende honorable* and his abjuration in the Place de Grève; to have his tongue bored with a hot iron, and to be afterwards imprisoned for life. When this cruel sentence was in the act of being carried into effect, Berquin refused to pronounce the form of abjuration. Budæus it seems, was one of his judges; and spared no pains to persuade him to submit; but Berquin, continuing inflexible, appealed to the pope and the king. His judges therefore issued a second *arrêt*, by which he was condemned to the flames as an obstinate heretic; and this sentence was carried into execution on the 22nd of April, 1529. Beza says that if Berquin had found in Francis I. a Frederick duke of Saxony, he might have been the Luther of France.

Heresies however were multiplied in the nation by punishment. Everywhere books, sermons, and conversations savoured of the new opinions. Etienne le Court, curate of Condé in the diocese of Sées, distinguished in this way, was condemned by the bishop, assisted by *l'Inquisiteur de la Foi;* for there were then, as we have seen, inquisitors in France. This man, after va-

rious appeals and formalities, was degraded, and delivered over to the secular arm, and executed. At Tolouse, in 1532, many Lutherans were arrested. Jean de Caturce, Bacheleur en Droit, a Limousin, was consigned to the flames, and twenty other persons variously punished. The queen of Navarre's orthodoxy was officially called into question; but I shall not recapitulate the various particulars enumerated against her. The celebrated French poet Clement Marôt, whose arrest had been ordered by the officiality of Chartres, found an asylum with her. Two Augustines, her preachers, named Bertrand and Courant, had fallen under the notice of the Sorbonne, who proposed inquiring into their doctrine. The first, menaced with imprisonment, fled, quitted the habit of his order, and turned Protestant: but ended by reentering into the Catholic church. The other, having been imprisoned, but afterwards released, died a minister at Geneva. In consequence of such complaints, Francis entered into a sort of explanation with his sister; but was easily disarmed by her gentleness and submission. When rudely urged by some zealots to adopt severe measures against her, Brantome says the king replied: "Elle m'aime trop elle ne croira jamais; "que ce que je croirai." She became however an object of hatred to the bigoted Catholics of Paris, who considered her as the enemy of their religion.

The students of the college of Navarre were encouraged to insult her character by a theatrical representation, got up for this express purpose; in which a woman quits her distaff and spindle for *un livre d'évangile*, which was presented to her by a fury. The indignation of Francis was excited, and a magistrate sent by his order to the college of Navarre, to inquire after the authors and actors of this piece. On this occasion the principal, adding impudence to insult, is said secretly to have instigated the students to an insurrection. They defended themselves with stones, till compelled to yield to a superior force. The result of this gross offence was, however, merely a short imprisonment of those of the superiors, who appeared to have been most culpable.

She was the author of a work, entitled *Le Miroir de l'ame pécheresse*, which, in the opinion of candid French critics, breathes throughout " l'onction, l'humilité, la naïveté, et annonce une " grande connoissance de l'écriture sainte." This the Sorbonne, at the instance of Beda, caused to be placed amongst the number of prohibited books; yet affecting to be ignorant of the author. Francis, again vehemently offended, required Nicolas Cope, or Copus, (son of Guillaume Cope, his prime minister,) Recteur of the university, to assemble the four faculties, and find out the authors of this condemnation. The bishop of Senlis protested

that the *Miroir de l'ame pécheresse* contained no error; and the Recteur, in the name of the university, disavowed the censure.

In the affair of the divorce, (it is said by Gaillard,) through the management of du Bellay, the Sorbonne decided agreeably to the views of the English monarch; but Beda was strongly opposed to this decision; and proceeded to such violence, as to make indecent reflections on the political alliance of Francis with Henry; to snatch the register of the decision out of the hands of the officer, and tear it into pieces, and to place in the archives another act in contradiction to that of the faculty. The consequence of this was his temporary banishment. Having been permitted to return, he preached publicly against the king, accusing him of improper compliance with heretics. This occasioned his second banishment. He was again restored, and again renewed his attacks from the pulpit against the king; for which he was at length sentenced to make the *amende honorable* in the porch of Nôtre Dame; and then shut up as a prisoner in the convent of Mont S. Michel, where he died, Jan. 8th, 1537.

In the mean time heresy penetrated the university itself; and though some bachelors, and even doctors, were condemned by their own society, and diversely punished, it gained over as a convert the rector Nicolas Cope himself. He was

cited before the parliament, for a sermon pronounced by him *aux Mathurins*, on All Saints' day, 1533, and which, we are told, Calvin had composed. The rector, secretly forewarned, did not appear, but fled to Basil. The king, by a royal rescript, shewed so much zeal for orthodoxy, real or pretended, as to order that the person who had given him the abovementioned warning, should if possible be found, and punished as a favourer of heretics.

Other executions followed, which I stay not to detail. The king found himself in great perplexity. On the one hand, both his own natural clemency rendered him still repugnant to severities, which reason told him were beyond all proportion to the offence; and the queen of Navarre his sister, the princess René his sister-in-law, and even the duchess d'Etampes his mistress, were opposed to this rigour, and had at least one ear opened to the novel doctrines. The *savans* also, whom the king protected, were generally favourable to Lutheranism; the league of Smalcalde seemed to bind him to indulgence; and by religious executions he hazarded the loss of useful allies. On the other hand, the ill-timed zeal and daring acts of the Lutherans, who challenged persecution by outrages and placards, both offended and alarmed the king. The popes, in whose approbation he had great interest, were continually recommend-

ing to him the protection of the Catholic religion. Italy was the object of his ambition; and the troubles in Germany were fomented by him merely as a means to turn the attention of Charles V. from it; so that the friendship of his German allies might be considered of less importance to him, than that of the Roman pontiffs. Some pretend therefore to explain the variations of his conduct by this one clue. Under Leo X. and Adrian VI. his avowed adversaries, he was tolerant: under Clement VII. his ally, and under Paul III. who was favourably inclined to him, he authorised intolerance.

We have said that Lutheranism in France was mingled with Zuinglianism; whence the term Sacramentarians, so often given by their opponents to the advocates of the new doctrines. In the night of October 18th, 1534, the streets of Paris were filled with placards against the mass and clergy: they were even placed on the gates of the Chateau de Blois, where the king then was; and on his return to Paris were fixed on those of the Louvre. This gave rise to a new procession, more solemn than any former one, in which Francis again bore a conspicuous part; and found his zeal so animated, as to draw from him that memorable declaration, " that even if one of his own mem-
" bers were infected with heresy, he would not
" hesitate to cut it off." Six of the principal actors

in this affair were burned at Paris, with sufferings studiously procrastinated: eighteen others in the like manner, in different places. Charles V. who repressed heretics but did not burn them, caused it to be reported that they were Germans, who were thus burned in France. Francis was at great pains to undeceive his allies in this particular; but failed to obtain their approbation of such rigour against his own subjects. It has been remarked that Charles V. and Francis I. were opposite in every thing. The first began with being rigorous against Protestants, and ended with being indulgent: the second, originally indulgent, thought it expedient at length to become severe.

Francis, however, and his confidential advisers, still favourable to an accommodation, encouraged Melanchthon to offer a memorial, in which the Confession of Augsburg was softened down and explained, to render it more reconcileable with the Catholic faith. But this was rejected by the faculty of divines, and subjected Melanchthon to the severe animadversions of his own party. A personal conference, between Melanchthon and a deputation of the theologians of Paris, was next proposed, but never took place; and the king, for having countenanced such a proposal, became an object of jealousy to these rigid divines. Some of these incidents, which I have last noticed, occurred in the years 1534, and 1535. In the latter of

these years, the cardinal de Quignones made some changes in the Roman breviary, under the pope's own sanction; but the university of Paris, now fired with zeal against every appearance of novelty, rose in arms against this corrected ritual, and called upon the parliament to interdict the sale of it; but they declined the making of any order on this subject.

In this same year, 1535, Calvin's Institutes were published. Some account of Calvinism in France, may perhaps become the subject of a future portion of this work. Persecution, which had given partial strength to the reformed opinions in France, was afterwards more violently turned against this religious sect, and rendered Calvinistic half of the kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

ROBERT ESTIENNE—HIS EARLY HISTORY AND LATIN IMPRESSIONS—THESAURUS LATINUS—ANTECEDENT LATIN DICTIONARIES—EARLIEST BIBLIA LATINA—CONTESTS WITH THE SORBONNE—PROFESSIONAL HONOURS—LARGER BIBLIA HEBRAICA. 1524—1544.

ROBERT ESTIENNE was born in the year 1503. Concerning the juvenile history of this very zealous typographer and distinguished scholar, I find no memorials. Under what tuition therefore, he was enabled to lay the foundation of that transcendent skill in classical literature, to which notwithstanding the disadvantages of such a period, he attained, must continue a matter of conjecture. Probable it is, that his father's establishment constituted the "ludus litterarius" in which he received the rudiments of his education; and that those learned men, who were engaged by Henry Estienne the elder as the correctors of his press, became also the principal directors of his son's youthful studies.

At the time of his father's decease, having attained the age of seventeen years, he may be supposed to have acquired considerable experience in

the typographic art. In the year 1522, after the marriage of Simon de Colines with the widow of Henry Estienne, Robert had become the assistant of his father-in-law, and the director of his press. In this character, he superintended an impression of the *Novum Testamentum, Latine*, in 16mo; which was executed with great elegance and accuracy after the Vulgate translation, but with the addition of certain corrections by the juvenile editor. After the account given in our last section of the temper of these times, it will not appear surprising that this publication should have excited the jealousy of the Sorbonne divines; who were dissatisfied both with such an attempt to disseminate the sacred Scriptures, and with the freedom of Robert's corrections: and thus, even at this early age, he found himself involved in the suspicion of heresy. We have his own testimony to shew that the hostility of these divines, which pursued him through life, had its origin with this commencement of Robert's professional career. No sooner had the beforementioned impression appeared, than they began to exclaim against him as a corruptor of the sacred text; declaring that those, who presumed to print and vend such impressions of the holy Scriptures, were deserving of capital punishment. Robert informs us that he endeavoured, but in vain, to justify his corrections by critical reasons and theological arguments.

This was indeed only to aggravate the offence. They were not sparing of their invectives against his temerity from the chair and the pulpit; but studiously avoided all personal discussions with him of a literary or controversial nature: and this cautious procedure, Robert imputed to a consciousness of their own incapacity and gross ignorance.

Probably it was in the year 1524, that he became sole proprietor of his paternal "Imprimerie." In 1525, he gave the first of his impressions recorded by Panzer, viz. *Apuleii liber de deo Socratis*, 8vo. He commenced the following year with an impression of *Ciceronis epistolæ ad familiares*, 8vo; and from that period till about the year 1552, when he forsook his native city, the productions of his press were multiplied with increasing enterprise, activity, and perfection. Many of them, exhibiting, like those of his two predecessors, this subscription: "E regione scholæ De-" cretorum," prove that he remained resident in that situation at least till the year 1538. The new device, which from his commencement he adopted, was a spreading OLIVE TREE, with one or more of its branches broken off. The motto, in different impressions found variously appended, was from Romans ch. xi. v. 20. "Noli altum sa-" pere," or, "Noli altum sapere, sed time." The latter words he used less frequently: but his edi-

tions are seldom found without this device, in one or other of its varieties.

Robert united himself in marriage with Petronilla or Perrette, one of the daughters of Jodocus Badius, with whose professional merits and character the reader is already acquainted. This lady appears to have been worthy of an origin and a matrimonial connexion both so literary. She well understood and could converse fluently in the Latin language. That learned "Decem-" virate," as it has been termed by Henry Estienne, or society of scholars, whom Robert entertained in his family, as the assistants of his labours and correctors of his press, being of different nations, and holding their common intercourse in the Latin tongue, gradually communicated a literary tinge to the whole domestic establishment; so that even the children and servants, instructed by their table-talk and social conversation, became so familiar with the Latin idiom, as both to understand and to express themselves with considerable fluency in the same language.

Some have affirmed, that it was a custom of Robert Estienne to hang up the separate leaves or sheets of his impressions, for the examination of students, in the streets and precincts of the university; and to propose a stated reward to any who should detect in them an error of the press. Though my professed object is mainly concerned

with this celebrated artist and scholar as a printer of Greek books, yet as many of his Latin impressions exhibit surprising beauty, and are still valued as fine specimens of the typographic art, occasionally also on account of the subjects of the volumes, or the names of their respective authors, I shall in the course of this memoir, mention some of them; referring the reader however, for a complete enumeration of this printer's Latin impressions, to Maittaire's catalogue; which may be greatly augmented by the more recent inquiries of Panzer, and by other means too obvious to mention.

1528. Robert this year produced a fine quarto impression of the celebrated work of our learned countryman, Thomas Linacer, *De emendata Latini sermonis structura*, which he afterwards more than once repeated in an octavo form. His *Justiniani Institutiones*, 8vo, and *Digestorum seu Pandectarum volumina quinque*, 8vo, several of which bear the date *anni* 1528, are books at present of very rare occurrence. He now also completed and published his first impression of the entire Bible; *Biblia utriusque Testamenti Latina, ex veteribus MSS. exemplaribus emendata, fol. cal. Mart.* Desirous to produce a correct copy of the Vulgate, he had explored the libraries of Paris for MSS. to compare with the best printed

editions. One, in the Bibliothèque de S. Germain des Prez was very ancient, had been written with great exactness, and revised by skilful persons. Another, in the Abbaye de S. Denys, proved almost equally valuable. From these MSS., and the best printed copies, he formed the present edition.

At this time Robert Estienne was occupied in the preparation of that great original work, by which he evinced himself a profound critic and etymologist, as well as a skilful printer; I mean his *Dictionarium seu Latinæ Linguæ Thesaurus.* To correct the *Dictionarium Calepini* was a task difficult, invidious, and nugatory. The students of the university required a new Dictionary, more accurate, and better furnished with classical authorities. Finding no other person at once willing and competent to engage in such an undertaking, he at length consented to take it upon himself: and when he had digested a few sheets into an alphabetical form, submitted them to the examination of several learned men, by whom he was encouraged to persevere. He consequently applied himself two years to this work, day and night with little intermission, regardless of health and domestic concerns; and by it two presses were kept in constant exercise.

From the period when printing was invented,

till the end of the fourteenth century, the *Catholicon* was the principal Latin dictionary found in the hands of students. The author of it was Joannes Balbus, a Genoese, commonly called Joannes de Janua. Considering the dark period in which the *Catholicon* was compiled, and the sources from whence it was drawn, the learned have pronounced it no contemptible production. The first impression of it appeared *Moguntiæ, anno* 1460, in folio; as it is supposed from the press of Fust. It is one of the earliest specimens of typography, yet executed with such skill and perfection that it may vie with the finest efforts of modern art; and therefore continues to be held in high admiration and esteem, by those who take pleasure in such literary curiosities. The *Catholicon* afterwards passed through many editions.

The *Vocabularium* of Papias was also committed to the press *Mediolani*, 1476, *& sæpius alibi:* and from it, and a similar production of Hugutio or Uguccio, who flourished *circa* 1196, the *Catholicon* itself is said to have been principally taken. To the vocabularies of this period belong also the *Synonyma & Æquivoca* of Joannes de Garlandia, an Englishman, who lived *circa* 1040; which first appeared from the press, *Coloniæ*, 1490; and the Biblical Dictionary called *Mammothreptus*, vulgo, *Mammotrectus*. "Pro-

" diit" (say the English editors of the *Dictionarium R. Stephani*) " hoc Lexicon Biblicum, quod " velut infantulis mammæ ad instar sugendum " *Mammothrepton* inscripsit auctor, quæ appella- " tio inde in auctorem recidit, Moguntiæ, 1470, " Venetiis, 1479, ap. Jenson. 4to, et alibi sæpius." Petrus Bonherius characterises the preceding and other performances " ejusdem farinæ" in the following terms:

> Infelix plebes Papiam Ebrardumque legebat,
> Scriptaque barbaricis vix bene nota Getis.
> In pretio fuerant Ugutio, Catholiconque,
> Atque Mamotrecti semilatina lues.

To pass by other dictionaries of these barbarous ages; in the subsequent periods which became conspicuous for the restoration of learning, a race of scholars appeared, who laboured in the field of verbal criticism with success. Amongst them we find Aretinus, Poggius, Philelphus, Valla, Politianus, and others of the Italian school. Tortellius of Arezzo composed his *Dictionarium vocum Latinarum*, which first appeared *Tarvisii*, 1477: Junianus Maius of Naples, his *Liber de priscorum proprietate verborum, sive Dictionarium*, which appeared *Neapoli*, 1475, fol.; and to which Calepinus was greatly indebted. The *Brevilogium sive Dictionarium Latinum* of Joannes Reuchlinus was printed *Basileæ, ap. Amerbach.* 1480,

fol. Some bestow great praises upon this performance, which however, abounds with words now considered barbarous, or of doubtful Latinity. The *Cornucopia* of Nicolaus Perottus was a work of more respectability. The first impression is that of Venice, 1492, fol.: but that which is most esteemed, issued from the press of Aldus Manutius, Ven. 1513, fol.

From the *Cornucopia* of Perottus more especially, we are told that Ambrosius Calepinus, of Bergamo, servilely copied his *Dictionarium*, which Ludovicus Vives terms, "Lexicon insulsum et fœ-" tidum," and thinks destitute of all marks of genius and originality. Probably it was first printed *anno* 1500; and having been considered as the most tolerable manual of the kind, it was afterwards frequently submitted to the press, with corrections and additions by various hands. Robert Estienne had been advised to give a new impression of that work, but despaired, as we have said, of remedying its radical imperfections: and happily for his own reputation, determined upon compiling a new Dictionary.

1529. Among his most important impressions of this year, we find *Plinii Epistolæ, Panegyricus, & de viris illustribus; Suetonius de claris grammaticis; Julii Obsequentis prodigia*, 8vo; a very pleasing volume. Also two editions of Terence

in fol.; the first dated *VI. nonas Julii;* the second *IV. idus Julii.* In the former, which has the commentaries of Donatus and Calphurnius, he with great trouble restored the Greek passages cited by Donatus, by means of an ancient MS. given him by Badius; in which however they were so nearly obliterated, that great skill was requisite to decypher them. In all preceding editions, blanks appeared where these Greek citations should have been inserted. Robert affirms, that in the text of Terence, partly from the commentaries of Donatus, and partly by a collation of the best MSS. he has made many emendations, and corrected more than six thousand errors. This edition is considered of great rarity; and Harles terms it *ejus nomine & officina digna.* The other impression, which so speedily followed, contains the text of Terence, with some preliminary dissertations of Donatus, the *argumenta* of Melanchthon, and the account of the comic metres compiled by Erasmus. It excels the preceding in typographical beauty, but has a much less copious index [a].

[a] Other impressions of Terence were executed by R. Steph. anno 1536, fol.; annis 1533, 1535, 1542, 4to; annis 1531, 1533, 1534, 1536, 1545, 1551, 8vo. An impression in 24mo, anni 1541, "Italico charactere, Regii Typographi nomine apposito," is noticed by Maittaire; of which copies on large paper have been highly appreciated.

1530. His Terence was this year succeeded by an impression of Plautus in folio; which Harles considers as merely a repetition of the *editio Aldina* of 1522, in 8vo. Fabricius mentions a second and better edition by Robert *anni* 1535, fol.; "exemplaribus viginti invicem collatis." He now gave also *Rhetores Latini, Rutilius, Lupus, Aquila, Rufinus,* 4to: a very uncommon book.

1531. The first edition of Robert Estienne's *Dictionarium, sive Latinæ Linguæ Thesaurus,* bears in its title the date of this year: the subscription has 4 *cal. Oct.* 1532. It is a moderately sized and well printed folio. I have already noticed his preparations for this work; and shall here give an account of its several variations and improvements. There was a second impression in two parts, each part constituting a handsome folio volume: which exhibits, *in fine,* this subscription: *Parisiis. Excudebat Robertus Stephanus in sua officina anno* 1536. 14 *cal. Decemb.* The third, and the author's last edition, is that of 1543, in 2 tom. fol. with very important corrections and improvements.

This dictionary soon became an object of the rapacity of sordid printers, and was surreptitiously repeated by the presses of other countries. Nor was this all the author had to complain of. Ignorant correctors took unwarrantable liberties, in-

serting what he had deliberately rejected, and making ridiculous additions and interpolations. Robert himself, having on some occasion visited Venice, entered a printing-office there, in which was preparing an edition of his *Thesaurus*. He presently cast his eye upon a certain word, which he remembered having rejected. He asks to see the original. There he finds the same word written in the margin with a view to its insertion. He inquires of the interpolator the reason of this. The person answers, that he has also prepared many other additions; which when Robert inspected, he finds them to consist in like manner of words which he had designedly omitted. At this the injured author became so indignant, that he loaded the interpolator, and all his fraternity, with the most contemptuous epithets. The story is told by Henry Estienne in his *Artis typographicæ Querimonia.*

That Robert meditated another, and yet more improved edition than those already mentioned, appears from his preface to an impression of the *Dictionarium Calepini, anni* 1553. In 1573, Philippus Tinghius, a Florentine, gave a much enlarged edition of the *Thesaurus*, in 4 vols. fol.; which, however, in the opinion of able judges, is far inferior in merit to the latest impression by Robert himself. "Stephani integritatem fœdissimis mendis deformavit," saith Maittaire. The

additions are said to consist of long and tedious details on Roman antiquities, injudiciously compiled from various authors. The *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ* of Cœlius Secundus Curio, taken in a great measure from Robert's work, of which it seems a mangled manufacture, was printed *Basileæ, apud Frobenium*, 1576, in 3 vols. fol. The *Promptuarium Linguæ Latinæ* of Theodorus Trebellius of Forli, another abridgment, is noticed by Robert himself, in his preface to the Calepine before mentioned. Even Stephanus Doletus, in his *Commentarii Linguæ Latinæ, Lugduni*, 1538, in 2 vols. fol. was considered among the plagiarists of Robert. Lastly, an edition of the valuable Thesaurus R. Stephani, *prioribus multo auctior & emendatior*, appeared *Londini*, 1734–5, in 4 vols. fol. The editors were Edmund Law, John Taylor, Thomas Johnson, and Sandys Hutchinson; and their judicious labours and improvements have given to this edition a superiority over every other. The subsequent labours of Gesner and Facciolati, in the same field of learning, were no doubt greatly facilitated by Robert's researches; and, as it might reasonably be expected, they have obtained a preference among scholars of our time. But though works of this nature are constantly susceptible of improvement, it may be mentioned to the honour of Robert Estienne, that even in its original state, the *The-*

saurus Latinus was considered as a highly finished performance; and *suo genere*, much more perfect than the celebrated *Thesaurus Græcus* finished by his son Henry, but of which Robert was the original projector.

1532. He now produced *Virgilii Opera cum Servii commentariis, Valeriani castigationibus, &c.* fol. in a handsome Roman letter. The *castigationes* Joan. Pierii Valeriani had been indeed published previously, *anno* 1529, in a separate form; but the Virgil had been withheld, under the expectation of procuring further commentaries. This year Robert gave a second impression of the sacred Scriptures, intitled *Biblia. Breves in eadem annotationes ex doctiss. interpretationibus & Hebræorum commentariis. Interpretatio propriorum nominum Hebraicorum. Index copiosissimus rerum & sententiarum utriusque Testamenti. Parisiis ex off. R. Steph. M.D.XXXII. cum priv. regis*, fol.

This Latin Bible is executed in a very fine character: "est magnifiquement imprimée," says Clement. It exhibits brief notes, or *apostilles*, in the margin. It again drew upon him the warm indignation of the divines, who renewed their charge of temerity against Robert "quod Biblia "imprimere ausus sit;" though, in addition to the royal *privilegium*, he had fortified himself with a

license of their own college. Such was his perilous warfare with the Sorbonne; from the severest effects of whose enmity he was preserved, solely perhaps by the king's avowed patronage and protection. On this occasion he could not escape without humiliating submissions, and engaging to print nothing thenceforward, *nisi cum bona eorum gratia.*

1533. The fruits of Robert's press were, another Virgil; *Virgilii Opera,* 8vo; *Horatii Ars poetica, cum commentariis Acronis, &c.* 4to, now an uncommon book; a renewal of the *Plinii epistolæ, &c. anni* 1529; with other minor impressions.

1534. Robert now hazarded a third impression of the *Biblia sacra* in 8vo, with brief annotations; which Maittaire considers as a repetition of that of 1532, in a more portable form and a small character. In the mean time his thoughts were much employed on the improvement of his own *Thesaurus.* Sitting *in sua libraria taberna,* he attentively listened to the remarks both of the learned and the unlearned respecting that work. Some complained of inaccurate citations; others of misplaced accents, or of names or words omitted; so that Robert was induced to employ all the leisure he could spare, in a course of reading for its

improvement. For the same purpose he received communications from Budæus, Bayfius, Tusanus, and other scholars of the time.

At this period the question or controversy *de imitatione*, which was first agitated by the scholars of Italy, was by no means lost sight of. On the contrary, the comparatively recent dialogue by Erasmus, intitled *Ciceronianus*, had given to it a new interest. But Robert was not a rigid Ciceronian. He admitted as classical and legitimate authorities, words and phrases, taken from authors much distinguished from each other by the character of their style, as well as by their age and time.

1535. I find recorded, from Robert's press, *Budæi Annotationes in Pandectas, &c.* fol.; and *Budæi Annotationum in Pandectas editio altera*, fol.; also *Budæi de transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum Libri tres*, fol. or rather a large 4to. The very title of this book is enigmatical; but is probably intended to denote the transfer of the author's attention from Greek philology, to the theology of the Christian system. Budæus however, handles the subject of Christian Divinity in terms so very ethnic, pedantic, and obscure, that the modern divine looks in vain in the work for the thoughts and diction, with which he is most familiar; and rises from its perusal, convinced

how much the simple majesty of divine truth rejects the pompous and heathenish garb, in which this scholar has endeavoured to invest it. Another remarkable impression by Robert of this date is, *Cuthberti Tonstalli de arte supputandi libri IV.* 4to. In executing this edition of our English bishop's work, he exerted his utmost professional skill. It should be mentioned, that it first issued from Robert's press in like form *anno* 1529. This therefore is *editio repetita.*

1536, 1537. I have already noticed the appearance of the second edition of Robert's Latin Thesaurus in the former of these years. (*Ante, sub anno* 1531.) In 1537, besides various other impressions, he published *Hebræorum in Bibliis propriorum nominum catalogus & rerum index,* to correspond with his last edition of the Holy Scriptures.

1538. This year was signalized by his more popular *Dictionarium Latino-Gallicum,* fol.; (to which he added, in 1540, his *Dictionnaire François Latin,* fol.;) and by impressions of several portions of Cicero's works.

1539. Robert had previously published the commentaries of various scholars on distinct parts of the writings of Cicero. He now finished an

edition of the entire works of that great orator in folio, *typis elegantissimis & Victorii notis ornata;* viz. *Ciceronis Opera omnia*, the two volumes of which bear respectively the dates of 1538, and 1539.

His acknowledged erudition, and great professional zeal and ability, having long before attracted the royal notice and favour, Francis I. in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the thirty-sixth of our typographer's age, conferred upon him the honourable distinction of *Imprimeur Royal* for Hebrew and Latin works: *Regii in Hebraicis & Latinis Typographi.* After the year 1538, we no longer find the mention of his *officina e regione scholæ Decretorum.* From the month of June 1539, more especially, he styles himself, *Regius Typographus*, or *Librarius:* sometimes, more precisely, *Regius Hebraicarum & Latinarum literarum Typographus;* very seldom omitting these honours.

As yet he had not obtained the like honourable distinction with regard to the Greek. The office of *Regius in Græcis literis Typographus* was first given to Conradus Neobarius, as we have already mentioned. Francis conferred it upon him probably about this same period; for in several of his impressions of the year 1539, he is found with this distinction. But the impressions of Neobarius were few; he died anno 1540, a victim, if

we may believe Henry Estienne, to the labours of his office. Until this event took place, the honours of Robert were confined to the title of King's printer in *Hebraicis & Latinis.*

Thus distinguished, he speedily commenced an impression in Hebrew of the Twelve Prophets, with the commentaries of R. David Kimchi, which in less than four years he completed.

In the mean time his active mind had been intent upon another impression of the sacred books, which should exhibit the Vulgate text, not without new and important elucidations; and of which in particular, the interior margin should contain those various readings, which were in conformity with the Hebrew and the Greek.

1540. This renewed impression of the Latin Bible now appeared: *Biblia. Hebræa, Chaldæa, Græca, & Latina nomina virorum, mulierum, populorum, idolorum, urbium, fluviorum, montium cæterorumque locorum, quæ in ipsis Bibliis leguntur, restituta, cum Latina interpretatione & ipsorum locorum descriptione ex Cosmographis. His accesserunt schemata Tabernaculi Mosaici & Templi Salamonis, quæ præeunte Francisco Vatablo, Hebraicarum literarum Regio professore doctissimo, summa arte & fide expressa sunt. Parisiis ex officina Roberti Stephani Typographi Regii M.D.XL. cum privilegio Regis,* fol. This

has been pronounced a magnificent and very rare edition. M. Simon speaks highly of it in his *Hist. Critique;* and says, " the theologians of Pa- " ris might have spared at least this fine Bible of " 1540, which exhibits only the text and various " readings: the *Censure* ought not to hinder the " reading of it," &c. Le Long says: " Hæc edi- " tio omnium R. Stephani præstantissima est & " optima: . . . . opus sane in arte typographica, si " unquam fuit, perfectum." (*Vide ejusd. Biblio- theca Sacra.*)

It again drew upon the printer however, the violent indignation of the divines: though in what part of it they discovered the taint of heresy, cannot easily be explained. " Hic rursus novæ flam- " mæ: impotenter bacchantur probi isti censores " contra totum librum, in quo ne minimum quidem " est vel reprehensione dignum, imo quod carpere " ipsi possent, nisi forte in summariis quæ vocant, " quæ redolere hæresin in suis censuris dicunt." (*R. Steph. ad censuras responsio.*)

About the same period an impression of the Decalogue, executed at Robert's press in large characters, and intended to be affixed to the interior walls of houses, contributed to involve him in jeopardy and trouble: and in this *feuille volante* the divines discovered little less mischief, than in all the heresies of Luther. Robert says, that upon this occasion, these orthodox censors

caused a counter impression of the Decalogue to be prepared by one Joannes Andreas [b], in which the two first commandments were combined into one, omitting the prohibition of making and worshipping images; and the tenth divided, or rather he says, rended into two, to make up the denary number: that against him they instituted the most rigorous proceedings, frequently causing his house to be searched for heretical works: that he was often compelled to absent himself from home, either through apprehension of being arrested, or through the necessity of following the king's court and council from place to place, in order to counteract their violent designs. (*Resp. ad cens*, p. 10, seqq.)

[b] Jean Andrée was a violent anti-reformist *Libraire*. Robert terms him, "Hominem non minus imperitum quam sce-"leratum & impium, qui illis (censoribus scilicet) & prodi-"tionum omnium minister fuit, & in exercenda sævitia car-"nifex acerrimus, quemque aliquando in consilium interius "adhibere ipsos non puduit," &c. I find, from other testimonies, that this Andrée was employed by Pierre Lizet president of the parliament, as a spy, for the detection of Calvinists; and in 1546, procured the arrest of Pierre Capot, a bookseller of Geneva, who came to Paris to dispose of works favourable to the reformed opinions. There was then a contemporary *Libraire*, by name Jean Judet, who, in opposition to Andrée, was charitably officious in warning the "heretics" of the plans laid for their detection and punishment. For this offence Judet himself at length became a martyr.

1541. Robert nevertheless put forth this year a Latin Pentateuch, intitled *Libri Moysi quinque, cum annotationibus & observationibus Hebraicis haudquaquam pœnitendis, quæ prolixi commentarii vice esse possunt;* fol. *minori:* the text exhibited in brief portions, and a bold Roman character; the scholia, or notes, subjoined to each portion in a smaller type. It is highly probable that Robert contemplated an entire Bible in this convenient form; but the Pentateuch here described is the only part I have seen. He also now published (as Maittaire observes) *Novum Testamentum Latine, cum brevibus* (*ad marginem*) *annotationibus,* 8vo. This was at first received with peaceableness, and even with approbation; but subsequently the theologians discovered that he had expressed himself objectionably on the subjects of purgatory and confession. When this storm was somewhat allayed, he gave by the advice of several of the inquisitorial faculty, a renewed impression of the same New Testament, with a few alterations and many additions. But, thus changed and corrected to the taste of some, it failed to satisfy others, especially those of leading authority.

1542. Robert thus perplexed and annoyed, did not intermit his labours for the advancement of

classical learning. His fine Cicero was now followed by an edition of *Quintiliani Institutiones oratoriæ*, 4to, or fol. *min.* very correctly and beautifully executed. Vascosan's press also gave birth to a magnificent edition of *Budæus de asse & partibus ejus*, fol.; printed for R. Stephanus, and J. Roigny.

1543. Now came forth Robert's last edition of his own *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, on the perfecting of which he had been intent twenty years. (*Vide ante, sub* 1531.) This year also, he commenced a new impression of the entire works of Cicero in 8vo; in which he is supposed to have exhibited the first specimen of his Italic characters. In the autumn, he produced his *Rei rusticæ Scriptores, cum Victorii & Beroaldi notis*, 8vo.

1544. Robert gave impressions of Sallust, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other Latin historians, distinctly, in 8vo. He now finished the octavo impression of *Ciceronis opera* last mentioned. The thirteen parts, enumerated by Maittaire, are generally comprehended in eight volumes. The *Rhetorica* bears the date of 1544; the other volumes generally, of 1543. Harlesius (*Bibl. Græca, Fabr.* vol. VI. p. 657) mentions the following impression and original work: *R. Stephanus de Latinis & Græcis nominibus ar-*

borum, fruticum, herbarum, piscium, & avium; but perhaps this is in reality a work of Carolus Stephanus, erroneously given to Robert.

I have stated before, that in 1539, Robert commenced an impression of the Hebrew Scriptures in 4to; which splendid work was finished this year. It consists of twenty-four parts, distinctly published. Scarce had our energetic typographer affixed the colophon to this impression *forma majori*, when he commenced another of the same Hebrew Scriptures in a very small and portable form, yet exhibiting a character equally distinct and beautiful. I shall take further notice of these Hebrew impressions, *sub anno* 1546.

CHAPTER IX.

ROBERT ESTIENNE—COLLEGE ROYAL—OPPOSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY—IMPRIMERIE ROYALE—CHARACTERES REGII—TYPOGRAPHI REGII—BINDINGS AND DECORATIONS.

FRANCIS I. incited both by his own liberal views, and personal disposition for the encouragement of learning, and by the urgent advice of Budæus, and of other scholars who frequented his court and stood high in his favour; soon after his accession had cherished the design of instituting a ROYAL COLLEGE, for instruction in the ancient languages. This project employed the frequent discussion of his leisure hours. It was proposed to him to place Erasmus at the head of it; and he, not less pleased with the thought of depriving the emperor his rival, of such a subject, than of introducing into his own dominions the most renowned scholar of the age, readily charged Budæus with this interesting negotiation; and omitted no inducements on his own part to render it successful. Into the particular details of it

I shall not enter; as they may be found at large in the works of M. de Burigny, and of Dr. Jortin. I shall observe only, that when the most tempting offers of popes, and kings, and princes, had failed to allure Erasmus from his peaceful mediocrity, and from the society of Froben, his much esteemed friend, the hypochondriacal fancies of the invalid are said to have shaken the resolution of the philosopher, and nearly to have accomplished the wish of Francis. Erasmus, having accidentally partaken of some French wines, and persuaded himself that they were particularly congenial to his feeble stomach, in 1522, accepted a passport for France; waiting only for the ensuing spring to commence his journey. But the emperor, who had kept a jealous eye on this negotiation from its commencement, now put a final end to it, by the assurance, that the loss of that pension which he had hitherto granted to Erasmus, should be the certain consequence of such a removal.

After the example of Leo X. who had founded at Rome a college of young Greeks, Francis employed Joannes Lascaris, sent on a mission to Venice, in the endeavour to induce some well-disposed Grecian youths to come and mingle themselves with the young students of Paris; hoping this would prove an effective means of reciprocally communicating their respective languages. That this really succeeded, it is no where said; but the

details of its progress continued to amuse the king, and his *gens des lettres.* All these munificent plans of Francis were counteracted in some measure, by the extravagance of his own amours; but more especially by his ambition, and desire of military glory. The war of 1525, which led to the captivity of Francis, necessarily interrupted them; but after his restoration, Budæus was again incessant in recommending the establishment of the Collége Royal; and having composed his celebrated *Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ,* prefixed to them an elaborate Greek epistle to the king, in which he forcibly reminds him of it. This liberal measure, though ridiculed by some of the courtiers, and condemned by the Sorbonne as savouring of Lutheranism, was advocated with no less zeal and constancy, by Du Chastel, the brothers Du Bellays, and other enlightened members of the French court, as we have said.

Actual arrangements were at length made for the establishment of the Collége Royal. A superb edifice for this purpose was to be constructed on the site of the palace or Hostel de Nesle, where the Collége Mazarine has in more recent times been erected. It was to comprise accommodations for a variety of professors, and for six hundred students, whose course of instruction was to be completed in fourteen years. For the support of this institution, one hundred and fifty thousand

crowns were annually to be appropriated. Its chapel was designed to correspond in magnificence with the other buildings, and to be provided with four canons and as many chaplains. In the year 1539, the king issued letters to his treasurer, containing a specification of the details, and an order for the necessary disbursements. But though he survived nearly eight years beyond the period of these arrangements, he had not the gratification of carrying the intended erection into effect. Probably financial embarrassments, and the almost incessant wars which accompanied his reign, were the true cause of its failure: though some have attributed it to the malevolence of the chancellor Du Poyet, who has been represented as generally adverse to the interests of literature.

But though the college of the three languages was not erected, yet the professors were named and endowed; which gave a real and acknowledged existence to the institution. Known thenceforward, by its distinct appellation of the *Collége Royal*, and at first intended to form a part of the university, (though afterwards separated from it,) it might justly have been considered as a new ornament to that establishment; in which however, we are assured it presently excited jealousies and commotions. The new professors, being in the enjoyment of liberal stipends, delivered their lectures gratuitously; but the ancient ones

were dependent upon the remunerations which they derived from their hearers. Not without reason therefore, they were apprehensive that the ancient schools would be abandoned: and M. Gaillard asserts, that at first no chairs for the Latin were appointed in the Collége Royal, in order that the lectures of the university might not be superseded. Jealousy and interest having thus combined to render this new school an object of hatred to the members of the old establishment, means were to be devised, without an appearance of open hostility against the royal authority, to throw all possible impediments in the way of the new professors. The question of privilege afforded a specious plea; the university therefore cited the *Professeurs Royaux* before the parliament, requiring that they should be subjected to the examination of their own body; and not presume to exercise the function of teachers without their license first obtained. Thus, men of known and acknowledged erudition, whom the public voice had recommended to the king, and advanced to the high and responsible offices designed for them in this royal institution, were to have their literary pretensions estimated by incompetent judges, in whose advancement to chairs and dignities, merit had generally been disregarded. On such an occasion, Noel Beda failed not to appear; and to distinguish himself as might

be expected, amongst the most litigious of the party. M. Gaillard tells us, that he was the person selected to plead the cause of the university before the parliament; and the arguments employed by him were sufficiently characteristic of the advocate. He urged, that to propagate the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, would operate to the absolute destruction of religion. Already said he, such dangerous remarks as these, are frequently heard: "such is the im-" port of the Hebrew original;" and, "thus it is " that we find it read in the version of the Sep-" tuagint." Were these professors "Theologians," he asked, that they should thus pretend to explain the Bible? Were not indeed, the very Bibles which they made use of, for the most part printed in Germany, the region of heresy? Or at least were they not indebted for them to the Jews? The replies of the professors, through Marillac their advocate, are said to have been to the following effect: "No: we advance no pretension " to the name of theologians. It is as critics or " grammarians only, that we explain the Greek " and Hebrew Scriptures. But answer us: Do " you profess to understand Greek and Hebrew? " If so, attend our lectures; and when you find " us teaching any heresy, denounce us. This is " an occupation in which you have already had " sufficient practice. But if you are yet ignorant

" both of the Greek and Hebrew languages, with " what show of propriety can you insist upon ex- " amining us? or on what grounds do you forbid " us to teach? Will you presume to make a dis- " play of your own barbarous contempt for a spe- " cies of knowledge, which you have not acquired? " Or as public functionaries of the university, does " it become you to oppose the progress of instruc- " tion, or to resist or embarrass the efforts which " a great monarch is making, to banish ignorance " out of his dominions? As to the subjects of our " lectures, we are permitted to choose for our- " selves, out of the whole variety of Greek au- " thors: or if any of us should prefer the Bible, " it is from a motive which you have no just rea- " son to disapprove. What other Hebrew book " indeed, than the Bible, would you have us to " explain?"

The parliament, influenced by such reasonings, or respecting the authority of the king, who might justly be considered as jealous of the conservation of his own work, studiously avoided any decision of this controversy; and the Collége Royal not only maintained its ground, but continued to increase in the estimation and favour of the public. Gabriel Marillac, who had pleaded the cause of the royal professors, became afterwards advocate-general of the parliament; for, says M. Gaillard,

to advance persons, distinguished for eloquence or for intelligence, was one of the happy characteristics of this reign. It was manifest however, by these and such annoyances, how much the king was thwarted in his liberal designs.

The writer whom we have last mentioned observes, that Claude Despence, a celebrated theologian of the same times, and himself a member of the faculty of Paris, was persecuted by his confraternity, because he had more knowledge than they; and has left upon record this complaint; that to have acquired the smallest acquaintance with the Greek, was in his day considered as a certain indication of heresy. He also cites a singular testimony of Conrad Heresbach, a learned jurisconsult, who says, that he heard a monk speaking thus from the pulpit: "A new language has "been discovered, which they call Greek: you "must be carefully on your guard against it. It "is the infant tongue of all heresies. I perceive "in the hands of a number of persons a book "written in that language: they call it the New "Testament. It is 'un livre plein de ronces et "de vipères.' As to the Hebrew tongue, all such "as learn it presently become Jews."

Henri Estienne, it must be confessed, evinces great acrimony and mordacity in his satire, and sometimes indulges in caricature: yet his frequent assertions of the ignorance then pervading the

university, however apparently incredible, are as we see, confirmed by citations from the writers and preachers of the times. In his *Apologie pour Hérodote*, having shewn the deficiencies of its ruling members in inferior attainments, "As to "the Greek," says he, "we must by no means "expect to find them in possession of any know- "ledge of it. Even the most intelligent amongst "them are not ashamed to adopt the common "apology, 'Græcum est, non legitur;' and, 'Trans- "eat, Græcum est.'" The same author however, insinuates in another part of his *Apologie*, &c. that the exclamations of some of these Gallic rabbins against the critical study of the ancient languages, were equally the effect of hypocritical cunning, as of ignorance. They feared lest it might detect and expose their impositions. If they had been willing, says Henri, to acknowledge the truth, they might have confessed, as one of their own party did afterwards, "qu'il y avoit danger que ce "Grec, cest Hébrieu, ce Latin, ne descouvrissent le "Pot aux roses[a]." If however, the reader will consult the epistle dedicatory, prefixed by Lam-

[a] Henri Estienne further asserts, that a certain canon of Paris actually fell under the suspicion of Lutheranism, on account of his improved pronunciation of several Greek words found in the Breviary; an innovation which he had presumed to defend by arguments: thus shewing that he had been studying the Greek language.

binus to his edition of Horace, and addressed to Charles IX. he will find a character of the Parisian university, with reference to the same period, which cannot be doubted. "It was then," he says, "equally destitute of sound philosophy "and elegant learning. The poets, historians, and "other authors of ancient Greece, were scarcely "known by name: amongst those who were de- "corated with the insignia of academic rank and "honour, scarcely a single professor was ac- "quainted even with the rudiments of the He- "brew or Greek language; or capable of teach- "ing the Latin in its genuine purity. The walls "of the public schools resounded with nothing "but anile and captious disputations, no less ridi- "culous than unprofitable; carried on, moreover, "in a language perfectly barbarous: and the works "which were privately studied, and publicly ex- "plained, were of a correspondent description."

If, amidst this general darkness or perversion of intellect, a few persons enlightened beyond their age and time were found, it may be reasonably presumed that they took part with the Professors Royal. Erasmus consoled and encouraged them, by mentioning the progress of a college at Louvain for the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, instituted by the zeal and munificence of Jerome Busleiden, a simple canon of Brussels; but apparently submitted to his arrangement. "Such," said he

to them, " is the inevitable lot of every thing " which is at once novel and useful: good cannot " be done without encountering obstacles: neither " had I a powerful king to support me with his " favour; yet I persisted, and Louvain enjoys " the benefits of Busleiden, and the fruits of my " cares . . . As to you, you will succeed, in spite " of the Franciscans and Beda, by opposing to " envy mildness and urbanity, and diligence in " the discharge of your duties."

Petrus Ramus in one of his *Plaidoyés* (against Charpentier) says, that in the year 1530, Francis actually began the establishment of Royal Professors: in recounting whose names, he mentions some now little remembered or known [b]. Balu-

[b] " Le grand Roy Françoys, surnommé par tiltre de perpe- " tuel honneur, Père des bonnes lettres & Restaurateur des " arts liberaux, desirant d'enrichir ses Françoys des grandes " richesses du monde, & orner son royaulme du plus bel or- " nement que iamais royaulme fut orné, commença l'an 1530, " d'establir des professions royalles en l'vniversité de Paris, " en mathematique, en langue hébraïque, grecque, latine, en " philosophie, médecine. Le premier professeur en mathe- " matique fut Oronce, à qui fut adiouté Problace médecin de " la Royne Alienor, quelque fois vn troisiesme y a esté adiou- " té comme Postel, qui leut quelque partie des mathema- " tiques. Semblablement furent establis deux premiers pro- " fesseurs en la langue hébraïque, Vatablus & Agathius, & " quelque fois vn troisiesme comme Paradisus: & ainsi en " la langue grecque furent Tusanus & Danesius, ausquels fut " adioinct Coroneus: la langue latine pourtant qu'elle estoit

zius, in his *Notæ ad Gallandii Vitam Castellani*, cites at length an official *carta* or patent for the appointment of such professors and lecturers; but this bears date in the month of March 1545. In this instrument, we find François Vatable, Paul Paradis, and Alain Restaut *dit* de Caligny, constituted Lecteurs en Hébreu. Jacques Thouzat, Jehan Stracel, Denys Arron, Lecteurs en Grec. Oronce Finé, Pascal du Hamel, Lecteurs és Mathématiques: Vidal Viduro en Médecine: François de Viromercato en Philosophie: Pierre Galand és lettres Latines & humaines: and Angelo Vergetio "nôstre Escrivain en Grec." In the preamble to this instrument we observe two reasons for this royal foundation assigned, both entitled to weight in the consideration of the university. One is, "que le sçavoir des langues est un des dons du "saint Esprit:" the other, that he proceeds in the measure "en ensuivant le décret du Concile "de Vienne." The actual stipends assigned to the professors cannot be collected from this document; but on this head it says, "ausquels nos "Lecteurs nous avons ordonné honnestes gages "& salaires, & iceux fait pourveoir de plusieurs "beaux benefices, pour les entretenir, & donner

"plus traictee par tous les colleges n'a eu qu'vn professeur, "qui fut Latomus premierement: pour la philosophie le "premier professeur fut Vicomercato, pour la medecine Vi-"dius," *Harangue &c. a Paris* 1566. 8vo. pp. 31, 32, 33.

" occasion de mieux & plus continuellement en-
" tendre au fait de leur charge." Other authorities however inform us, that the amount to each annually was four hundred and fifty " livres tour-
" nois."

Having spoken thus far of the establishment of the Collége Royal, I now proceed to the notice of another noble institution, by which the reign of Francis I. was distinguished, and in which our present inquiries are especially interested. This was the IMPRIMERIE ROYALE, together with its appendage of TYPOGRAPHI REGII; an arrangement then altogether novel and unprecedented in the annals of literature. It reflects therefore, the greater honour upon the memory of Francis I. as having apparently emanated from his own enlightened views. No expedient could have been better calculated to give effect to those liberal intentions, with which the Royal College had been instituted. By an apparatus which nothing less than princely munificence could have provided, the admirable productions of classic genius and taste, and those of Greece more particularly, were now to be given to the public with a beauty of characters, and an exquisiteness of technical perfection, to which no typographer had ever yet attained, or even in imagination aspired.

The king's first care being to procure a new cast of types, worthy of the institution which he

meditated, Claude Garamond, one of the ablest French artists of the time, was enjoined to engrave the poinçons, and prepare the matrices or moulds, for three (or more) descriptions or sizes of Greek: an undertaking which was accomplished with distinguished skill and success: and these were the same, which have subsequently been so well known by the denomination of CHARACTERES REGII. They were followed, in process of time, by others for the Latin, both Roman and Italic, together with the necessary implements for their multiplication [c]. M. Fournier, speaking of the Fonderie du Roy as that of the greatest antiquity, which was in his time existing in France,

[c] M. Bayle, Art. Francois I. cites the following testimony of Petrus Victorius, from his preface to one of the treatises of Aristotle: "Veritas quoque non patitur ut reticeam egregiam voluntatem atque operam, inferioribus temporibus in hac re positam a Francisco primo Gallorum rege, qui ut erat omnibus in rebus magno animo ac vere regio præditus, proclivisque in humanum genus juvandum, rectaque studia summa ope augenda, curavit ut quidquid antiquorum ingenii monimentorum restaret in afflicta Græcia, ad se mitteretur: cui beneficio magno addidit alterum & ipsum valde utile ad hanc ipsam honestam artem ornandam: studuit enim, magnis præmiis propositis, ut lepidæ admodum formæ litterarum & Græcarum & Latinarum fingerentur: in quo etiam felix fuit: ita enim pulchræ atque politæ fabricatæ fuere, ut non videantur ab humano ingenio venustiores & exquisitiores ullo pacto conformari posse: librique ipsis excusi, non invitent tantum, sed etiam aliquo modo rapiant ad se legendos."

says it is the same which thus had its commencement under the auspices of Francis.

We are told that the models, after which it was determined that these royal Greek characters should be formed or delineated, were, with respect to the capitals, those "litteræ majusculæ" of the Greek alphabet, which Janus Lascaris professed to have investigated, and with great care to have ascertained from genuine medals, marbles, and other remains of antiquity; and which he exemplified in the edition of the *Anthologia Græca*, and other similar impressions superintended by him at Florence, about the year 1494. But of the smaller part of these *characteres regii*, as distinguished from the capitals, together with all their beautiful variety of *compendia* and *nexus*, contrived partly as abbreviations, and partly as ornaments, Angelus Vergetius, of Candia, is acknowledged to have furnished the designs. That learned stranger, whose Greek penmanship was so singularly beautiful as thus to have been appointed for the pattern of the artist's imitation, was engaged by Francis I. to establish himself at Paris, and accept of an official situation in his newly-founded college, as we have already seen, under the denomination of the king's "Escrivain "en Grecque;" and with an annual stipend equal to that of the professors.

M. de Guignes, in his historical Essay on the

Greek characters of Francis I. pronounces them to have been engraved with so much elegance, that it would be difficult, even at present, to form any equally beautiful. That king, he says, (after Belon,) who loved the arts, and was an especial admirer of grand designs, having collected around him able artists of every description, had projected a colossal statue of Hercules, of the height of fifty-two feet and upwards; which from having had cast, he was prevented by death only: the model still remaining at Paris. But M. de Guignes thinks that Francis erected a monument, if less gigantic, yet better calculated to record his name to posterity, in these beautiful Greek characters, which he caused to be engraved by Garamond. He observes, that we are astonished, in comparing the Greek of Cheradam, or of Postel, or Robert's own in his prior essays, (and we may justly add, that of any of the preceding Greek printers of Paris,) with that of the impressions which he gave under the title of Typographus Regius. The order in which these several fonts of the king's Greek were executed by their ingenious artist, was this: first, the "characteres priores," comprehending those of a middle size, which Robert used in the Eusebius of 1544; secondly, what he calls "characteres regii secundo loco scalpti," which are exemplified in the small N. Test. Gr. *anni* 1546, where we find the celebrated eulogy

of Francis: "O mirificam regis nostri optimi & "præstantissimi principis liberalitatem. Minuti- "ores etiam characteres Græcos, quia desiderari "senserat ad libros quanvis magnos in angustum "spatium contrahendos, exculpi voluit, prioribus "illis, licet omnium pulcherrimis, elegantia pares." Lastly, the "characteres regii posteriores," being those of the largest size; in which his celebrated edition of the N. Test. Gr. *anni* 1550, in fol. is executed. All these several fonts had their "nexus "& abbreviationes" multiplied in a surprising variety, as may be seen from the Alphabeta Græca with specimens, which came from Robert's press at several times.

Persons no doubt there are, who find themselves perplexed by this extraordinary multiplicity of contractions; some for general use, in ordinary works; others of a particular kind, and intended for those belonging to each distinct art or science. Some also may object to the luxuriating ease and freedom, and, as it were, the ornamental *contours* of these royal Greek characters, as partaking too much of the embellishments of the ingenious scribe. M. de Guignes remarks, that in modern times, engravers and printers, both of France and England, in the endeavour to avoid these abbreviations and ornaments, have fallen into the opposite extreme. He could not contemplate the productions of modern Greek presses, where the

text, entirely destitute of abbreviation and embellishment, exhibits only the same dull uniformity, without giving the preference to the Greek of Francis I. and to the ingenuity of Garamond, his letter-founder and engraver [d].

[d] That Garamond was not only an engraver, but a letter-founder, we have the testimony of M. Fournier. (*Manuel Typogr.* tom. II. p. 23.) In the mention of the Greek characters of Francis I. several bibliographers, each adopting the errors of his predecessor, seem to have fallen into confusion. As Guillaume le Bé, a distinguished letter-founder, flourished about the same period, La Caille pretends that he was employed in the whole process of preparing, and casting or moulding, those beautiful Greek types which were conceded to the use of Robert Estienne, and his successors in office. But M. Peignot says, that Guillaume le Bé the eldest, (for there appear to have been several of that name, both Libraires and Fondeurs de Paris,) was employed, at the age of twenty years, and subsequently, at Venice; as an engraver of Hebrew and Rabbinical characters. That he returned to Paris in 1552, and then commenced the most ancient of all the private founderies in France; and indeed became the purchaser of many materials which had belonged to the celebrated Garamond. This was five years posterior to the death of Francis I. La Caille also asserts, that Robert's elegant Oriental characters were the work of Guillaume le Bé; and that subsequently he was employed by Philip II. of Spain to found, at the royal expense, those magnificent characters wherewith Christopher Plantin of Antwerp executed the fine Polyglott, called the Bible of the king of Spain, *anno* 1569, in 6 vols. fol. That G. le Bé, though practising his art at Venice, might supply the *officina* of R. Steph. with Hebrew characters, is less questionable. We have seen that Robert used such characters in the year 1538; but whether they

By the liberal provision of such an apparatus, and by the discreet example which Francis I. gave, in the selection and appointment of the most learned and skilful typographers, as his Impressores Regii, the honours annexed to the office, and the remunerations assigned them, he made every reasonable provision both for the technical beauty of the intended impressions, and the accuracy of their texts; anxious that they should in all respects prove worthy of his Royal Institution. With the like view, as we have already intimated, and as many writers attest, he omitted no possible means of procuring authentic manuscripts of classical, and more especially of Greek authors: having caused them to be diligently sought after in Greece and Asia; purchased such as could be bought, and procured transcripts of others. We have already observed, that the distinction of "Regius in Græcis Typographus" was first conferred on Neobarius; who received in consideration of it an annual stipend of one hundred gold crowns. But, as during the short official career of that printer the arrangements of the king's typographical establishment were not completed, we shall find that the advantage of appearing with genuine brilliance in that character was reserved for Robert Estienne.

were furnished at the king's expense, I have not found it recorded, except by Chevillier, who says they were so.

To have laid the groundwork of the Collége Royal, says M. Gaillard, is sufficient to establish the glory of Francis I. though he had not the happiness of perfecting his extensive projects. He left indeed, much for his successors to perform; but had the credit of indicating to them what they ought to do. Francis having constructed no edifices for the royal professors, they gave their lectures in different colleges of the university. Henry II. assigned them those de Treguier and de Cambray. Henry IV. a little before his decease, had resolved upon proceeding with the intended erections, and named commissioners for that purpose. Louis XIII. in 1610, executed the design; and it is to him, says the same author, that we owe the edifice, which now exists under the name of the Collége Royal.

As this section has been devoted principally to the detail of services rendered by Francis I. to the cause of elegant literature, it may here be added, that several times during his reign he confirmed and renewed the privileges of the Imprimeurs and Libraires of the university. He instituted the office of superintendant of the royal library of Fontainebleau[e]; which, under the title of Bibliothécaire

[e] Peignot says that, in enlarging the acquisitions of his library of Fontainebleau, Francis was so intent upon procuring Greek MSS. as to have been comparatively indifferent with regard both to Latin and to vernacular works. Art. *Bibliothèque.*

du Roy, was first conferred upon Budæus, and afterwards upon Pierre du Chastel. He is said to have taken a remarkable pleasure in inspecting the process of printing: and one day having visited the Officina of Robert Estienne, who happened to be employed in correcting a proof, would not interrupt him; but waited till he had finished.

In this reign also, the taste seems to have been introduced for gilding the edges of the leaves of works of importance, BINDING them ORNAMENTALLY, and sometimes distinguishing them with the arms, devices, mottos, and names of the owners; "et c'est ce que nous appellons" (says la Caille) "antiqué sur tranche." Sometimes they were covered with velvet, as may be seen from specimens still remaining in the cabinets of the curious. As the impressions of books were now greatly multiplied, and private individuals began to form libraries, the practice became also prevalent of decorating books, by gilding them in compartments, on the outside of the bindings, *sur le plat.* On the same part were formed scrolls or labels (*des cartouches*) on which were inscribed the titles of the respective works, because they were then arranged *sur le plat*, and not after the manner usual at present. One of the most zealous collectors of those times was Monsieur Grollier, who had been honoured with the character of

ambassador of Francis I. at the court of Rome. He was at great expense in binding and gilding. His library consisted of about three thousand volumes, variously decorated and ornamented, and inscribed "Joannis Grollieri et amicorum[f]." It was preserved at the Hotel de Vic till the year 1675, and then publicly sold. *La Caille*, p. 87.

[f] A beautiful copy of *Ciceronis Officia, Lælius,* &c. with the addition of *Theodori Gazæ traductio Græca Senectutis & Somnii, Lugduni, (Trechsel)* 1533. 8vo, which once formed a part of the collection of M. Grollier, is now under my inspection. It is bound agreeably to the description given in the text. The capitals throughout the whole volume are illuminated with gilding. The edges are gilt, and *sur le plat* on the one side, appears the title, in these words: *M. T. Ciceronis Officia, de Amicitia, de Senectute, Paradoxa, &c.* in gilt capitals: on the reverse, or opposite side of the covering, "Portio mea "Domine sit in terra viventium." On the back, or what is at present the usual lettering place, are the words "Grollieri "& Amicorum."

CHAPTER X.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—TYPOGRAPHUS REGIUS IN GRÆCIS—HIS FINE GREEK AND OTHER IMPRESSIONS—RENEWED EDITIONS OF THE BIBLIA SS. LATINA ET HEBRAICA—FURTHER DISPUTES WITH THE DIVINES OF PARIS—DEATH OF FRANCIS I. 1540—1547.

HITHERTO we have contemplated Robert Estienne as a zealous printer of Latin and Hebrew works. But from this period he assumes a new character as a Greek Typographer, and dignified with the additional title of TYPOGRAPHUS REGIUS IN GRÆCIS. If indeed, any one ever strove to merit such a distinction, and to reflect credit upon an office which deserved to be considered as highly honourable and ornamental, it was this enterprising artist. For under his superintendance and exertions, Greek typography rose suddenly from a feeble commencement and very limited advances, (I speak with reference to the French capital and nation,) to meridian splendour, and a superiority of technical beauty and perfection, which has rendered it the admiration not only of past, but of present times.

Maittaire has shewn that Robert made at least

one effort in Greek printing before he was placed at the head of the king's Greek press. This was Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι, or, *Sententiæ singulis versibus contentæ juxta ordinem literarum ex diversis poetis:* an impression which issued *Græce*, but with an *interpretatio Latina, ex officina Roberti Stephani, anno* 1540, 3 *Non. Sept.* in 8vo. Maittaire believes this to have been Robert's earliest Greek impression. It appears, from occasional Greek passages in his early Latin impressions, that as a private printer of the university, he made use of types similar to those which are found in impressions by Badius.

1543. I have found an impression of this year unknown to Maittaire, in which the royal Greek characters were evidently first exhibited. Its brief title is, *Alphabetum Græcum:* then follows Robert's family device, underneath which are the words, *cum privilegio Regis. Parisiis, ex officina Roberti Stephani typographi regii. M.D.XLIII.* It is a beautiful octavo tract of sixteen leaves only; and after some remarks on the nature, divisions, and mutations of the Greek letters, exhibits a very copious table of the "litterarum "nexus & compendiosa scribendi ratio," adapted to the newly prepared *characteres regii.* Subjoined to the whole we find certain Prayers, the Creed, and the Decalogue, *Græce;* and lastly,

Numerus Græcorum: a view of the Greek form of numerical notation.

1544. Robert now gave to the public his magnificent impression of Greek ecclesiastical writers, in which he first more largely employed the royal characters; thus intitled: *Ecclesiastica Historia Eusebii, Socratis, Theodoriti, Theodori, Sozomeni, Evagrii, Græce, fol. prid. cal. Jul.* This fine volume was speedily followed by *Eusebii Præparatio Evangelica,* fol. in a corresponding style of magnificence. Robert prefixed to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* a Greek epistle, in which he has celebrated the praises of Francis I. in Maittaire's opinion, with Attic eloquence; extolling the king's munificence, and observing, that whatsoever advantages, present or future, the literary public derives or hopes from this typographic institution, must with due gratitude be ascribed to it.

In these volumes also we find him affixing to his Titles the MARK or Device now probably first invented, and which afterwards became common, in succession, to all the typographi regii, and distinctive of their office: this was "THYR-" "SUS cum Lauri ramo ac Serpente circumflexus," with the Homeric hemistich subscribed, Βασιλεῖ τ' ἀγαθῷ κρατερῷ τ' αἰχμητῇ. Henceforth his sedulous endeavours were employed in promoting the interests of all the three learned languages: nor

would it be easily decided on which of them he conferred the greatest obligations.

1545. To notice first the labours of Robert this year, in his recent character of King's printer in Greek; he gave *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicæ Demonstrationis Libri X. Græce,* folio, uniform with the *Præparatio,* and supplementary to it. This beautiful volume bears, *in fronte,* the date M.D.XLV. *in fine* M.D.XLVI. Cal. April. At present the *Præparatio* and *Demonstratio* are frequently met with in the same volume, and possess additional value as *editiones principes* of both works. Another remarkable impression, exhibiting the date of the year, is that of *Moschopuli de ratione examinandæ orationis libellus, Græce,* 4to; a grammatical work anciently in general use in the instruction of youth. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of this treatise, now first printed, the impression is specially interesting and curious, because it exhibits in far greater variety and abundance than any other known specimen of Robert's press, those elaborate and elegant " lit- " terarum nexus & abbreviationes" which belong to the " characteres regii" first designed and cast, as I have mentioned, under the auspices of Francis I. I believe it may be observed, that comparatively few of them are exemplified in any other single production of the Parisian press.

Robert seems to have selected this treatise for such a particular purpose.

His classical impressions of this year, were, *Juvenalis & Persius; Valerius Maximus; Lucanus; Terentius;* all respectively in 8vo: his theological, *Osiandri Harmoniæ Evangelicæ libri IV; Ejusdem in Harmoniam annotationum liber unus,* 12mo; a work now rarely found: and more especially his fifth edition of the whole *Biblia Latina. Biblia. Quid in hac editione præstitum sit, vide in ea quam operi præposuimus epistola. Lutetiæ, ex off. R. Steph. Typographi Regii M.D.XLV. cum privilegio Regis,* in 8vo, as it is usually described, but really in 4to, *minori.* Robert in his preface says, that he has reprinted the version of the "vetus interpres" without any change in the text, and placed the different readings in the margin: and that he has also placed in contrast with the old that translation, which of all those made from the Hebrew, and published in modern times, the learned prefer for its correct Latinity: "eam "potissimum elegimus quam veteri e regione ap- "poneremus, quæ viris doctis videretur cæteris la- "tinior:" concealing however the author, whose name might have excited suspicion or jealousy. Thus the impression in question exhibits two distinct and entire texts. He observes, that the version of Sanctes Pagninus, though confessedly a very skilful one, has been complained of as ob-

scure, "quod verbum verbo reddere studuerit:" that he has however compared it with the "nova "tralatio," as well as with the observations of Vatablus, which had been collected by diligent hearers who had attended his lectures. Clement has ascertained that this additional version is from the edition of Zurich, (*Tiguri*, 1543, fol.) in which the books of the V. T. are attributed to Leo Judæ and Theodorus Bibliander: the apocryphal to Petrus Cholinus: those of the N. T. are the version of Erasmus, retrenched by Cholinus and Rodolphus Gualtherus [a].

[a] Clement considers this as the most complete of all the editions by R. Stephanus, not excepting that distinguished one of 1557, in fol.; enters into a minute description of it, and says it is of very rare occurrence. M. Huet is cited as speaking thus: "Mihi Roberti Stephani nunquam probatum est "facinus, quum Tigurinorum editionem, suppresso Leonis Ju- "dæ aliorumque nomine, ad Vulgatam adjecit, & annotationes "suas, novæ doctrinæ passim jam in Gallia inolescentis semi- "nibus conspersas, in lucem dare cogitans insidioso eas Præ- "lectionum Vatabli titulo apud incautos venditavit." But Robert has not, in Clement's opinion, made any such objectionable use of the name of Vatablus. He explains thus: "Tantum hoc addemus: cum in annotationibus 'doctum inter "Hebræos' nominamus, Rabbi David Kimhi nos intelligere: "cum vero 'Doctiores,' eum ipsum cujus prælectionum bene- "ficio hæc habemus, et Christianos doctores significare." A scholar, by name Laurentius a Villavicentio, in his *Tractatus de recte formando studio Theologico, Colon. Agripp.* 1575, 8vo, p. 37, is said to speak in very different terms of this edition: "Poterit candidatus Theologiæ annotationes, quæ vulgo

Robert had during five years been making preparations for this Latin edition of the Holy Scriptures, by the collation of MSS. and ancient copies; and at the request of learned friends, had consented to delay its appearance till he received from them an explanation of the Hebraisms of the New Testament; which he inserts in the margin. With respect to the annotations ascribed to Vatablus, he ingenuously declares in his preface, that he had by earnest entreaty obtained the use of "memo-" randa," which various scholars of that professor had made in attending his lectures; and had published them from those sources: "diligentissimum " quemque ex illius auditoribus rogavimus ut suos " nobis libros commodarent." He also adds: "si " Vatablus ipse has annotationes edidisset, Deus " bone, quantum doctrinæ, quantum facilitatis ac-" cessurum fuisse existimamus? verum quominus " adhuc id, sicut cupiebat, præstaret, publicæ pro-" fessionis occupationibus est prohibitus."

" Vatabli dicuntur, in sacrarum Musarum conclavi adhibere; " quarum præsidio si usus fuerit, incredibili facilitate cuncta " quæ abstrusa, ardua, aut difficilia in sacris Bibliis, ignorati " sermonis Hebraici causa, occurrerint, intelliget & assequetur. Affirmant enim quamplurimi viri eruditi constanti " sententia, neminem majori vel eruditione, vel fide, magisque " perspicua expositione sacros Veteris Testamenti libros in-" terpretatum esse, quam Franciscus ille Vatablus, doctissimus " professor regius Hebraicarum literarum Parisinus, interpretatus est." (*Clement. Bibl. Cur.*)

The divines finding the notes sanctioned by such an authority, did not at first venture to cavil at this edition: but afterwards threatened Robert with the usual pains and penalties, because he had omitted to procure their license for it; alleging that the title of King's printer did not exempt him from a compliance with the forms prescribed by the university.

Some have asserted that these "scholia," or brief annotations, were in reality drawn up by Robert himself; and that either through modesty or to escape odium, he ascribed them to Vatablus: and that the professor himself disclaimed them with great indignation, when he discovered that they contained matter which savoured of the new opinions. One asserts, that Vatablus was so much offended with this procedure on the part of the printer, that in a personal interview he gave vent to his resentment by violent invectives: another is at a loss, whether he ought to consider these notes as composed by Vatablus, or by Robert Estienne. A third believes them to have been corrupted merely, by a few touches of Robert's pen: and lastly, another thinks, that not only the notes, but that Vatablus himself was infected with heresy by Robert's instrumentality. (*Maittaire, Vit. R. Steph.* pp. 46, 47 [b].)

[b] I find the following remark in Dr. Adam Clarke's *Biblio-*

Subjoined to the second volume, or part, of this remarkable Bible of 1545, we find, *Diffusiores in priores psalmos annotationes;* a portion of the impression to which I shall have occasion to allude under the following year. Some portions of Robert's *Biblia Hebræa*, in 16mo, bear the date of 1545. Maittaire also mentions as a distinct impression, *Nov. Testamentum Latine, cum brevibus annotationibus*, 8vo.

graphical Dictionary, vol. I. p. 199, *ad imum.* "There is an "edition of the octavo Bible, printed by the famous R. Ste- "phens, in small letter, containing the Vulgate and the ver- "sion of Leo Juda, with Vatablus's notes; in which there is a "chasm of one whole sheet, though the folios follow each other "exactly. The *out* begins at the second chapter of the prophet "Zechariah, and closes about the middle of the eleventh chap- "ter of the same book. If so great a printer as R. Stephens "could overlook so important a mistake, what could be ex- "pected from those who valued neither their own reputation, "nor that of their authors; being actuated only by the views "of gain?" Dr. Clarke evidently means this edition of 1545, but is mistaken in the above assertion, having been misled by an imperfect copy. This Bible has the paging cypher only on the obverse side of every leaf. Signature T consists of 12 leaves or folios. In this the four first leaves are paged 145, 146, 147, 148; then follow four entire leaves, in which the paging numerals have accidentally been omitted; after which, the four concluding leaves or folios of the signature are numbered 149, 150, 151, 152. The copy now before me exhibits no other defect than this irregularity in the paging: but it is not surprising that, under all the circumstances, the leaves unpaged had been left out in Dr. Clarke's copy by a careless binder.

1546. Robert completed his singularly beautiful and highly esteemed edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, *Biblia Hebræa*, 16mo, or *forma minima*, (*ante*, 1544.) The first volume, *Prophetia Isaiæ*, had appeared in Feb. 1544; for in giving to the public this impression, he did not follow the order in which the several books stand in the sacred volume. In that year he accomplished the prophetical books in four parts. In the course of the same and of the following, appeared in eight distinct portions, the other books of the Old Testament, with the exception of the Pentateuch; which came forth (as we have said) under the title of *Quinque libri Legis*, Jan. 1546. The seventeen parts of this portable Bible are generally bound in 8 vols.: but often otherwise, *ad libitum*. The *Biblia Hebraica*, which Robert previously gave in 4to, has been noticed. It came forth in twenty-four distinct parts, the first of which he published in 1539, and the last in 1544. Concerning the 4to edition, M. le Long observes, that the *Pentateuchus*, *Prophetæ minores*, and *Chetuvim*, are executed "charactere majori & sat ve-"nusto," but the *Prophetæ posteriores* "charac-"tere impolito:" and he adds, "hæc editio non "est accurata:" a sentence in which father Simon concurs. On the contrary, this edition of 1546, in 16mo, has the praise both of beauty and correctness: "*Biblia Hebræa*, elegantissime & sat

" correcte." *Le Long, Bib. S.* Tom. I. p. 89. (8vo). Chevillier's praise of Robert's larger edition is less qualified: for he says, " the beauty of it has at " no time been surpassed [c]."

Robert now also sent forth *Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Annotationes in eosdem ex Hebræorum commentariis;* and *Cantica quæ in Bibliis sparsim leguntur;* 8vo; generally found with the Psalter, but distinct from it. This includes a re-impression of the *Diffusiores in priores psalmos annotationes,* added to his *Biblia Lat.* of 1545. Robert says he has executed this, at the request of those who complained of the very diminutive type of his recent Latin Bible; and could not use it " per " oculorum imbecillitatem." This *Liber Psalmorum* is most legibly and beautifully finished, partly in a Roman, partly an Italic character. He hints at an intention of giving all the sacred books successively in a like form; and had he so done, no Latin Bible extant could have been so attractive.—This year however, was signalized by a new Latin Bible from Robert's press, in a larger

[c] Jansson ab Almeloveen mentions an impression by Robert of the *Biblia Hebraica* in fol. *anni* 1545; but it is very certain that no such fol. impression was executed. In 1548, Robert published *Pagnini Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ,* 4to, in his preface to which he says: " Cum Biblia Hebr. duplici forma ex- " cudissemus," &c. alluding to the editions in 4to, and 16mo. Had the other edition existed he would have said " triplici " forma."

form, viz. in folio, being his sixth emission. *Biblia. His accesserunt schemata Tabernaculi Mosaici & Templi Salomonis, quæ præeunte Fr. Vatablo .... summa arte & fide expressa sunt. Index rerum & sententiarum quæ in his continentur. Hebraica, item Chaldæa & Latina nomina, &c. leguntur restituta, cum Latina interpretatione, & ipsorum locorum descriptione ex cosmographis. Lutetiæ, ex off. R. Steph. Typogr. Regii. M.D.XLVI. id. Maii*, fol.—This Bible, in external appearance is inferior to those of 1532, and 1540; but possesses for other reasons, interest and value. Clement has made large extracts from its preface; and concludes by observing, that the edition now under consideration, the least stately in size of all the large ones published by R. Steph. exhibits the text of the Vulgate "tout pur," and such as it is found in the most ancient Bibles. In the margin are placed "lectiones diversæ;" which had been extracted partly from those Bibles, and partly from sixteen MSS. The tenour of Robert's preface shews, that he had taken all possible pains to bespeak from the Sorbonne divines a favourable reception of this edition. Le Long also shews that this was in fact, the only one of his Latin Bibles which escaped censure. I shall state the reason in his own words: "Omnes usque ad hunc "annum studio & typis Roberti Stephani excusas "editiones Theologi Sorbonici tribus quatuorve

" censuris notarunt; ad quas responsionem nimis " acerbam Latine & Gallice scripsit, & anno 1552, " edidit Robertus Stephanus, cum ipsis censuris. " His autem accurate perlectis textus sacri codi- " cis remanet integer & intactus, ideoque multi " æstimandus; utpote unus e paucis ante correc- " tionem Clementinam emendatissimus." Thus even the orthodox Catholics are indebted to Robert, for one of their most valued Latin impressions of the sacred Scriptures.

The fruits of Robert's skill and industry this year in his character of " Regius in Græcis Typo- " graphus," are, 1. *Æsopi Phrygis vita & fabulæ plures & emendatiores, ex vetustissimo codice bibliothecæ regiæ,* 4to, or fol. *min. Græce;* at present one of the rarest of Robert's Greek impressions, and certainly in beauty inferior to none of them. Clement has in his first vol. p. 70, described the other comparative advantages of this fine edition. 2. *Novum Testamentum, Græce, ex Bibliotheca Regia,* 16mo, in two parts or volumes. This is the first of those celebrated editions, which are distinguished by the denomination of " O mirificam," from the first words of its preface: it is also the first impression in which the king's smaller Greek characters were exhibited. I shall revert to this edition *sub anno* 1549.

He now gave also a second and perhaps improved edition, of his *Dictionarium Latino-Galli-*

cum; several Latin impressions of minor importance; and more particularly an Italian one, which deserves to be ranked among the most interesting curiosities of his press; viz. *La Coltivatione di Luigi Alamanni, al Christianissimo Re Francesco primo. Stampato in Parigi da Ruberto Stephano Regio Stampatore, M.D.XLVI. con privilegi,* 4to. This is the first and most esteemed ancient edition of the georgical poem of Alamanni. It is written in "versi sciolti." Prefixed is a prefatory address by the author "a la serenissima "Madama la Delphina." The beauty of this book cannot easily be exceeded. The paper in polish and consistency, resembles fine vellum: the character is a large and bold Italic, which I have not seen used in any other of Robert's impressions, unless perhaps long subsequently in the French copy of his *Censures des Theologiens de Paris, avec la response,* &c. 1552, 8vo. The author a well known poet of Florence, having been concerned in a conspiracy against the cardinal Giulio de Medici, (afterwards pope Clement VII.) and obliged to abandon his native country, took refuge in France; and resided there at several intervals under the protection of Francis I. and of Henry II. from both of whom he experienced special marks of favour and honour. The dedication of this fine volume shews him to have been then resident at Fontainebleau. This is probably the only work

in the Italian language which issued from Robert's press. Niceron, tom. XIII. p. 245, has shewn that Bayle is mistaken, in having attributed to him also an impression of *Le Api di M. Giovanni Rucellai*, (which was first published *anno* 1539, in 8vo.) As however, Alamanni in his *Coltivatione*, has adopted after Rucellai's example, the "versi sciolti," or blank verse, I shall here present the reader with the ingenious reason which the latter poet had given for the use of such a measure. He pretends, in the commencement of his *Api*, that a swarm of bees, presenting themselves to him in a dream, addressed him thus:

O Spirto amico, che dopo mill' anni
E cinquecento rinuovar ti piace
E le nostre fatiche, e i nostri studj,
Fuggi le Rime, e 'l rimbombo sonoro.
Tu sai pur che l'immagin de la voce,
Che risponde dai sassi ov' Ecco alberga,
Sempre nimica fu del nostro regno:
Non sai tu ch'ella fu conversa in pietra,
E fu inventrice de le prime rime?
E dei saper ch' ove abita costei,
Null' ape abitar può per l' importuno
Ed imperfetto suo parlar loquace.

O thou, that after centuries elaps'd
Five thrice recorded, art intent to sing
Of Bees the labours, and ingenious arts,
Beware of Rhyme's monotonous response.

For well thou know'st the vocal mockery
Reflected from the rock where Echo dwells,
Was ever hostile deem'd to our domain.
Hast thou not heard how she transform'd to stone,
Of odious rhyme the inventress erst became?
Be then assur'd, that where the enchantress haunts
No bees can dwell—for they in horror hold
The eternal babbling of her flippant tongue.

It may be added, that Luigi Alamanni is said to have commenced his romantic poem, intitled *Gyrone il cortese*, at the special request of Francis I. and to have finished it at the instance of Henry II. Here however, the Italian poet owns he had not much to invent. He therefore pretends to have done little more, than translate into Italian stanzas the romance then very popular, intitled *Gyron le courtois.* This also was first printed at Paris, thus intitled, *Gyrone il Cortese di Luigi Alamanni, al Christianissimo & invittissimo Re Arrigo secundo. Stampato in Parigi da Rinaldo Calderio & Claudio suo figliuolo, con privilegi,* 1548, 4to: a very fine volume, but less free from typographical errors than the *Coltivatione* by R. Stephanus.

About this period we find Robert involved in new disputes with the divines of Paris. On presenting his elegant impression of Eusebius to the king, he embraced the opportunity of addressing himself to Pierre du Chastel, bishop of Mascon, of whose friendly offices he sought to avail him-

self: complaining that the divines were privately soliciting an interdict upon the further sale of that Bible, which he had lately published with annotations. The prelate was at a loss what measures to advise. Robert declared his readiness to annex to the copies, together with the Censure of the Faculty, "quicquid a Theologis vitii deprehensum "esset, ut sic admonerentur lectores ne incauti "impingerent," &c. The king was satisfied with this proposal; and enjoined Du Chastel to transmit his royal mandate to the doctors of the university to revise Robert's Bibles, note the errors, and send them to the printer for the purpose before mentioned. They promised compliance: but though Du Chastel addressed to them a second mandate, yet nothing was done in the affair. In the mean time the theologians of Paris were privately soliciting those of Louvain, to procure the insertion of Robert's Bibles in their catalogue of suspected and prohibited books.

Du Chastel was directed to address a third injunction to the divines of Paris: but they continuing to use all possible means to expedite the printing of the Catalogue of Louvain, the king himself by a letter of the 27th of October, forbade the impression of it. At length the faculty produced a list of fifteen passages, upon which they had animadverted. These were examined by Du Chastel, and Jean de Gagnay then chan-

cellor of the university: and afterwards sent back to the divines, together with an epistle, in which much was said concerning the proper method of animadversion, and the utility of notes on the sacred books, in terms (as Robert informs us) little satisfactory to his adversaries. The king himself perceiving the obstinacy of the faculty, finally issued a Brief, with the royal seal affixed; whereby in severe and threatening terms, he charged them to proceed to the completion of their *Censuræ;* and transmit the same to Robert, in order that they might be printed. They however persisted in their contumacy, regardless even of the royal interposition.

1547. Whilst under such interminable conflicts feebler minds would have been dispirited and subdued, Robert had sufficient energy to persevere in his professional labours. His first impression of this year was *Dionysii Halicarnassei Antiquitatum Romanarum Libri X. Græce, fol.* 1546. (*Cal. Feb.* 1547.) *Ejusdem, de Compositione ad Rufum: Artis Rhetoricæ capita quædam, ad Echecratem: Quo genere dicendi usus sit Thucydides, ad Ammæum: Græce, fol. Cal. Aprilis.* Of the historical books of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, this is the "editio princeps." It has been pronounced one of the most beautiful books the Greek press ever produced; and Fabricius says, it is executed

" typis vere regiis & nitidissimis." The like praise is due to the edition of the rhetorical works of Dionysius, which was evidently designed as a supplementary volume to the preceding. Another primary edition of a tract now little known, is *Michaelis Syngeli presbyteri Hierosolymitani de laudibus divi Dionysii liber, Græce;* 4to, 1547, *Non. Martii:* edited by Godefridus Tilmannus a Carthusian, who dates his Latin preface " e gur- " gustiolo cellulæ nostræ Cartusiæ Parisiensis." His third Greek impression of the year was, *Dionysii Alexandrini de situ orbis libellus, Græce, cum Græcis Eustathii commentariis, ex Bib. Regia, regiis typis,* 4to. This is also the " editio " princeps" with the scholia: that without them was subjoined to the Aldine Pindar of 1513, 8vo. Amongst the more important Latin impressions of the year, we observe *Ciceronis epistolæ ad Atticum, ad Brutum, ad Quintum Fratrem: in easdem scholia P. Manutii,* in 8vo.

Whilst Robert was thus strenuously pursuing the career of usefulness, he sustained an irreparable loss by the decease of his royal patron and protector, Francis I; under the shield of whose favour he had hitherto been enabled to resist the often renewed assaults of malevolence and persecution. This important event happened in the month of March of the year 1547. Francis was

then in the fifty-third year of his age, and had reigned thirty-two years and eight months.

An occurrence so unexpected, and to our typographer so calamitous, gave occasion also in this year to the following tracts from his press: *Petri Castellani oratio funebris, &c.* 8vo; *Le Trespas, Obseques & Enterrement de treshault, trespuissant, & tres magnanime Francois Roy de France, treschretien, premier de ce nom, Prince clement, Pere des arts & sciences; Les Deux Sermons funebres prononcez esdictes obseques, l'ung a Nostre Dame à Paris, l'autre à Sainct Denys en France, par Pierre du Chastel, Evesque de Mascon,* 8vo; *Le Sacre du Roy Henry II.* The original tracts from the press of R. Estienne are very rare. Those intitled *Le Trespas,* &c. and *les Deux Sermons,* are annexed to *Petri Castellani Vita, autore Petro Gallandio,* published with notes, by Stephanus Baluzius, Paris, 1674, in 8vo. These pieces by Du Chastel are very interesting; and probably constitute the only extant memorials of his pen, if we except the Latin oration abovementioned; which is perhaps a translation of one or both these French compositions.

The same year was fatal to Henry VIII. of England, who had pretensions to the patronage of literature. The decease of Franciscus Vatablus happened 17 *Cal. April. ejusdem anni.* This

learned professor, in consequence of constitutional indolence, or a premature death, left no written works; but contented himself with explaining the mysteries of the sacred tongue *viva voce* to his hearers. On the same day on which Vatablus died, occurred also the decease of Jacobus Tusanus, a professor of the Greek language in the royal institution; and it is said, that both these scholars had been elected on the same day into the college of king's professors. Beatus Rhenanus another eminent humanist, who had formerly been corrector of the press of Henry Estienne the elder, did not long survive the scholars we have mentioned. He died at Strasburg in this same year. Luther died in that preceding, February 17th, in his sixty-third year.

CHAPTER XI.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—BRIEF CHARACTER, AND SKETCH OF THE LITERARY COURT OF FRANCIS I.

FRANCIS I. who was educated in the college of Navarre, if not himself deeply versed in the learned languages, was, even from his earliest years, friendly to the study and diffusion of them. The dedication addressed to him as Duke de Valois, and then only fourteen years of age, by Francis Tissot, of his *Hebrew Grammar*, and the patronage readily extended by him to scientific improvements in general, bear honourable testimony to this liberal propensity, even before his accession to the throne. His very childhood it has been said, was characterised by an extraordinary perception of elegance and merit in works more allied to his own age and studies. The following instance is recorded by M. Gaillard. The celebrated Baldassar Castiglione visiting France in the reign of Louis XII. carried with him the first part of his *Cortegiano*, a work afterwards distinguished in Italy by the denomination of "il "Libro d'Oro," or the Golden Book. This having

been communicated to the king and some individuals of the French court, was eagerly perused by the young duke of Valois, by whose judicious remarks and interesting reflections upon it, Castiglione was so much delighted and gratified, that he ventured to predict that this child was assuredly destined to become the restorer of letters in France.

His military pursuits, from an early period, may be presumed to have precluded him from the advantages of regular study: but nature having bestowed upon him an excellent capacity, he is allowed to have possessed great quickness of apprehension and a very retentive memory. To converse with persons of erudition or genius, was always one of his favourite recreations: and to their society he devoted his leisure hours. "In "his court," says Du Verdier, "arms and letters "might be said to have taken up their residence "together. In learned men he chiefly confided: "for them he reserved places of trust and honour: "and their remunerations were of the most liberal "kind. Hence the more profound scholar eagerly "desired his patronage; the several poets of the "age considered his court as their Parnassus; and "writers of all descriptions vied with each other "in weaving the garland of praise for a prince so "much the friend of science and the muses." Such in a great measure were the persons who consti-

tuted his household, and were entertained under the name of "Gens des Lettres." He conferred with them on literary subjects, assisted at their public lectures, and took a part in their private discussions and controversies. The palace of Francis might be considered as a school of erudition and philosophy. At table, in hunting, in travelling, in exercise, and recreation, he was always attended by his train of *savans*. He permitted no idle conversation, but constantly expected and encouraged the discussion of some point of literature or of art, policy, history, or natural science, for which latter he evinced a strong predilection. No species of knowledge was excluded or neglected. The statesman and the artisan, the warrior and the agriculturist, might profit by those conversations. Such were the remarks of Thomas Hubert, secretary to the elector Palatine Frederic II. a scholar himself, who had travelled much, and made careful observations. He said he had been struck with nothing in France so much as with the king's table; and that amongst all the scholars whom he heard discourse there with great intelligence, he had listened to none with more pleasure and advantage than to Francis himself.

Through constant intercourse with such associates, others tell us, that this monarch's learning, though not profound, became general; that he was not deficient in classical literature; that as to the

French tongue, no person of the age understood it better, or spoke it with more precision and elegance; that in geography, architecture, fortification and military tactics, he was a considerable proficient; that not only the literary compositions of the ancients, but also the precious monuments of ancient Art were objects of his diligent research; and statuary, sculpture, and painting found in him a munificent protector. But his patronage of artists such as Benvenuto Cellini, Leonardo da Vinci, and others, and whatsoever the chisel, the pencil, and the mould achieved, under his encouragement, I leave to be detailed by some more competent pen. I shall here mention only, upon the testimony of Casaubon, as strongly characteristic of the subjects to which he loved to render such arts subservient, that on the walls of a gallery of his palace of Fontainebleau he caused to be painted by a skilful hand the principal occurrences of the whole Odyssey, as the celebrated Hiero had formerly procured the representation of all those of the Iliad, on a tesselated pavement [a].

[a] Rex Franciscus, notante Casaubono, Pater ille & Mæcenas literarum & literatorum, in cujusdam prælongæ ambulationis quæ Fonte-bellæ-aquæ visitur, parietibus, universæ Odysseæ argumentum solertis pictoris penicillo spectandum exhibuit. Sic olim Hiero tesselatis suæ navis pavimentis universum Iliadis argumentum curaverat exprimendum. *H. Steph. Thesaur. Gr. Lat. editio Valpeiana, sub voce* Ἀβακίσκος.

Francis is stated to have been himself occasionally an author. We read of state papers drawn up in the Latin language by his own hand. Though few of his compositions have been published, Du Verdier says so many of them were extant in his time, as would fill a large volume; and were then in the hands of M. de S. André Maréchal de France. Some verses in praise of Petrarch's Laura, which have been ascribed to Marot, because found annexed to some editions of his *Pseaumes*, have by recent critics been pronounced the undoubted production of Francis I.

L'EPITAPHE DE LAURE.

En petit lieu comprins, vous pouvez voir
  Ce qui comprend beaucoup par renommée,
Plume, labeur, la langue, le devoir,
  Furent vaincus de l'Amant par l'Aimée.
O gentille ame étant tant estimée,
  Qui te pourra louer qu'en se taisant?
Car la parole est toujours réprimée,
  Quand le sujet surmonte le disant.

Invidious mansion! scanty couch assign'd
  To one renown'd so widely! yet in vain
Pen, ardour, song, and duty, all combin'd,
  When Laura's excellencies wak'd the strain.
O vision bright and lovely!—who intended
  Thy praise, by silence might achieve it best.
  For labouring utterance ever fails, represt,
When language by the subject is transcended.

A little "Distique" which Francis was said to have inscribed with a diamond in a moment of "reverie" on a window of the Chateau de Chambert, was preserved there long after his decease.

Souvent femme varie,
Bien fol est qui s'y fie.

Woman is prone to change; the man unwise
I deem, who on a female's faith relies.

Of the more distinguished literati who figured in the court of Francis, some of those who were first advanced to chairs of professorships in the royal college, have already incidentally been brought before the reader's notice. Others are now too obscure to deserve our special attention. Two of them however, not hitherto distinctly noticed, may here claim our brief consideration. These are Petrus Danesius and Orontius Finæus. Danesius or Danès, was a native of Paris, and of noble extraction. At a period when able instructors were so rare, persons of high rank and station did not disdain to take upon them this office in behalf of the youth of honourable birth and expectation. Joannes Lascaris and Gulielmus Budæus were the early preceptors of Danesius, whose proficiency was such, that he was thought by Francis worthy to fill the Greek professor's chair. He acquitted himself with great success in this employment,

and maintaining his credit in succeeding reigns, became preceptor to the dauphin, afterwards Francis II, by whom he was appointed to the episcopal see of Lavaur, and employed on important occasions. He left no works of importance, but his learning and capacity were undisputed. The immense library formed by this prelate, which constituted the admiration of his age, after his decease, which occurred at a very advanced period, was dispersed and sold: a circumstance which M. de Thou laments, as very prejudicial to the republic of letters. Danesius deserves our notice also as the occasional preceptor of Henry Estienne.

Orontius Finæus, or Oronce Finé, son of a physician of Briançon, in Dauphiny, was according to M. de Thou, after Jacques d'Estaples, the first to rekindle in France the ardour for mathematical science, which had been almost entirely extinguished. Francis assigned to Finæus the earliest chair of mathematics at Paris. His auditory was very numerous; and the services are acknowledged to have been considerable which he rendered to these studies. His reputation stood so high, that S. Marthe says, the grandees of France, the ambassadors of foreign nations, and even princes themselves, occasionally sought his conversation and instruction. The mathematical treatises of Finæus are various. He prematurely boasted, it is said, of having discovered the quad-

rature of the circle. The merits of such writers must now be estimated with due allowance for the disadvantages of the time. Some observe that he succeeded but ill in his version of Euclid; and even charge him with having made it from the Arabic translation; though his own, twice printed by Colinæus, is confronted with the Greek text.

Names of other professors of minor importance, as I before said, I shall not dwell upon: observing only, that though their literary reputation may not have been such, as to entitle them to the remembrance of modern times, yet we may presume they were selected with discerning care; and possessed talents and acquirements superior to the general character of their own age. Such were the precursors of Turnebus, of Ramus, of Auratus, of Lambinus, of Passeratius, and of others, who, under the succeeding monarchs of France, discharged the like academic trusts with great approbation and usefulness.

With Budæus, one of the most esteemed *savans* and efficient advisers of Francis I, our readers have already been made acquainted. Gulielmus Petit, the king's confessor, has also been mentioned. He was conspicuous in the exertions used to bring Erasmus to Paris: a prelate of gentle manners and a liberal mind, but apparently unambitious of posthumous fame. Nicolaus Brissæus however, in dedicating to him his elabo-

rate edition of that enigmatical book, *Terentiani Mauri de literis, syllabis, pedibus, & metris, tractatus, Par. ap. Colinæum*, 1531, 4to. ascribes to him the credit of great erudition and eloquence, as well as of the most engaging personal qualities [b]. Petrus Castellanus or Pierre du Chastel, was another prelate and scholar, and one of the most influential, of the court of Francis I; but of him I propose to give in the ensuing section a separate and more detailed memoir; both because his early history is somewhat romantic, and the progress of it illustrative of the manners of this court; and yet more particularly, because he is often mentioned in the story of Robert Estienne, who at some times appears to have considered him as a friend,

[b] He terms him "Episcopus Sylvanectensis, noxiarum regis "auricularius." Addressing him, he says, "Præluxisti tuis "majoribus, honestasti patriam. Virtus tua, non tui nummi, "te convexit eo, ubi conspicuus esses, quo tanquam in exem- "plum frugalitatis converterent oculos, qui nec sine oculis "nec sine mente viderentur. Ubi nactus facultatem, quan- "tum maxime voluisti, benefacere potuisti, voluisti pluri- "mum, &c." and afterwards: "O te felicem, a quo rem im- "probam, nec quidem improbo modo petere nemo audet! "Quos cumulasti munificentia, apud te locus his non fuit ex- "probrandi.... Aurelius Augustinus (ut passim circumfertur) "in votis summum habuit audisse Paulum de pulpito fulmi- "nantem. Plebs, eques, senator, Rex, cordatissimas quæ de "te conciones exeunt, mirantur mirifice. Si concionem "destinaveris aliquo, illic ædis area, projecta, transversa, "tigna, frequentantur, &c." *Brissæi Epistola Nuncupatoria, &c.*

and at others to have suspected him, though perhaps unjustly, as a secret enemy.

Jacques Colin, Abbé de S. Antoine à Bourges, claims in some degree our notice, as having been employed by Francis I. as his secretary in ordinary, and "anagnostes," or reader. Germain de Brie makes respectful mention of him in a letter to Vida: "Jacobus Colinus, nostras, regius anag-" nostes, ob id regis lateri semper affixus, tum au-" tem & versatili ingenio & eruditione Latina & " rerum multarum usu perpaucis ex nostris con-" cedens." Gallandius intimates that his wit and learning were not always tempered with discretion. Through this defect, and "propter verba " quædam intemperanter & nimis futiliter emissa, " quibus proceres aulæ inter se commiserat," he was deprived of his office of reader to the king, and either wholly, or in a great measure, of the royal favour. M. Monnoye says he has spoken of him at large in his notes "sur les contes" attributed to Bonaventure des Periers; and it has been asked whether Colin was not in reality the author of those "contes," or tales. Du Verdier, noticing Colin's translations of the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses, and other works, printed *à Lyon*, 16mo. 1547, cites the following lines of Claude Chapuis, "en son discours de la Cour."

> Aussi l'abbé de Sainct Ambrois, Colin,
> Qui a tant beu au ruysseau Caballin,

Que l'on ne scait, s'il est Poëte né
Plus qu'orateur, à bien dire ordonné,
Est du grand Roy qui les siens favorise,
Et le lettréz avance & authorise
Non seulement volontiers escouté
Mais tant plus plait, que plus il est gousté.

Lazare de Baif, an Angevin, of respectable family, counsellor of the parliament and Maître des Requêtes, had the reputation of skill in the Greek language. He translated the Electra of Sophocles into French, line for line, and verse for verse, *Paris*, 1537; and the Hecuba of Euripides, *R. Steph.* 1550; printed with other poems. His name appears only in an acrostic in the Electra. The Hecuba has only his device, "rerum vices." Goujet, in his Bibliothèque Françoise, considers the Hecuba as the most tolerable of his translations: but the verses are of all measures, and for the most part very indifferent: though some few passages are said to possess a certain "naïveté "énergique." His learned Latin works are better known. The subjects are, "De re navali," "Ves- "tiaria," and "de Vasculis," printed by *R. Steph.* with engravings, *anno* 1536, and 1549. Francis I. deputed him as his ambassador to Venice, in 1530, and on other occasions. He was the father of Jean Antoine de Baif, who became remarkable as a French poet, in some of the subsequent reigns.

Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, and better known by the latter appellation, was a

nobleman of great consideration in the court of Francis I. But his merits appear to have been rather those of an able statesman, than of a profound scholar. The works which he composed in his native tongue are indeed learned and numerous, embracing history, geography, poetry, and various other subjects. The principal of them are his *Mémoires*, written in a natural and pleasing style, though with some degree of partiality. His merit as an author must have been extraordinary, if it ought to be estimated by the eulogy inscribed on his monument in the cathedral of S. Julien du Mans:

> Cy gist Langei, qui de plume & d'espée
> A surpassé Ciceron & Pompée.

Jean du Bellay his brother rose to equal eminence in the church. He was bishop of Bayonne, afterwards of Paris, and at length attained to the dignity of cardinal. The dexterity which he evinced in promoting the interests of his royal master at several foreign courts, and particularly that of Rome, was very conspicuous. On some occasions we find him invested with a military character, in which he is said to have acquitted himself with a degree of skill which could not be expected in a dignitary of the church. But as such points are foreign from my purpose, I shall content myself with stating, that his services to

the cause of learning were such as became his liberal character and high station. He is acknowledged to have promoted with his advice and influence those munificent designs which distinguished the reign of Francis I. and to have been an especial advocate for the foundation of the Royal College. Very creditable specimens of his talents as a Latin poet, may be found amongst *Jo. Bellaii Cardinalis amplissimi aliquot elegantissima poemata*, printed by *R. Steph. Par.* 1546, in 8vo, together with *Macrini Odarum libri tres.* His French works, said also to consist chiefly of poems and orations, were published by the same printer, *anno* 1549, in 8vo.

Martin du Bellay, another brother of this family, was equally patronised and employed by Francis I; and distinguished himself not more by his military and political talents, than by his zeal for the interests of letters. His *Mémoires Historiques* were printed with those of Guillaume his brother, and translated "ex Gallico in La-" tinum ab Hugone Suræo," *Francof. ap. Wechelum*, 1574, fol. As we are at present occupied with the mention of illustrious persons of this name, some notice may be taken also of Joachim du Bellay, who was a near relation of the preceding. His poetical productions gave him access to the courts of Francis I. and his successor, and procured him the special favour of the queen of

Navarre. He obtained the name of "l'Ovide "François" on account of the facility and fruitfulness of his muse. His French verses are allowed to be natural and ingenious, but are sometimes licentious. His Latin are pronounced very inferior. By his contemporaries he was deemed worthy of the title of "Pater elegantiarum."

Jean Salmon, a native of Loudun, and disciple of Le Fevre d'Estaples, was a Latin poet of this literary court, who (in the opinion of French critics) succeeded better in this species of composition. He is now more known by his assumed name of Macrinus. Some pretend that Francis himself bestowed on the poet this appellation, on account of the leanness of his person. He was thought most successful in lyric measures, and thence denominated the French Horace. The poetical works of his which I have met with, are *Salmonii Macrini Juliodunensis Carminum Libellus, Par. ap. S. Colinæum,* 1528, 8vo; ejusdem *Odarum Libri tres, ap. R. Steph.* 1546, 8vo; (already mentioned;) and *Næniarum libri tres,* together with *Poemata varia de Gelonide, Lut. ap. Vascosanum,* 1550, 8vo. Gelonis was the poet's mistress; in the former volumes he celebrates her beauty, and in the last described laments her death.

Amongst French poets of this period, Jean Marot, Clement Marot his son, Melin de Saint

Gelais, and Joachim de Bellay, unquestionably were the most conspicuous. Jean Marot commenced his poetical career in the reign of Louis XII. His verses were held in great estimation in the court of Francis; but in poetical qualifications he was confessedly surpassed by his son. Clement Marot was also upon the establishment of the royal household. He adopted the reformed opinions, and connected himself by a strict intimacy with Calvin. The charms of his muse therefore could not preserve him from a rigorous prosecution, imprisonment, and exile; from which he was at length delivered by the king's favour, and the interest of the queen of Navarre, yet not without the expense of an insincere abjuration. He has been charged with occasional acts of extravagance and immorality very inconsistent with his religious professions. The poems of Marot are miscellaneous, but as an epigrammatist he has been considered most successful. His paraphrastic translation of the Psalms was particularly censured by the divines of Paris, yet was adopted and used in the religious devotions of the court. I must not omit to mention, that when at one time he had retired to Ferrara, and sheltered himself from persecution under protection of the duchess, ludicrously availing himself of the process against the professors royal, he affected to make a common cause with them: and in an epistle to the king,

asserting that none were his enemies but pedants and fanatics, speaks in the following terms:

> Autant comme eulx sans cause qui soit bonne,
> Me veult de mal l'ignorante Sorbonne.
> Bien ignorante elle est d'estre ennemie
> De la trilingue & noble Académie
> Qu'as erigée. Il est tout manifeste
> Que là dedens, contre ton vueil celeste
> Est deffendu qu'on ne voise allegant
> Hebrieu, ny Grec, ny Latin elegant,
> Disant que c'est langage d'heretiques:
> O povres gens de sçavoir tous ethiques!
> Bien faites vray ce proverbe courant,
> Science n'ha hayneux que l'ignorant.

> My foes, for rhyme or reason none,
> I count the stupid, dull Sorbonne.
> Stupid indeed, since they objected
> To that fine school by you erected:
> The school of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,
> Which they would call the school of Satan.
> With tongues so strange their ears astounded,
> Deem every heresy compounded.
> Oh doctors! well your practice preaches
> The truth an ancient maxim teaches,
> That of all lets oppos'd to science,
> Sheer dunces are its worst annoyance.

Du Verdier terms Marot, "Poete des Princes "& Prince des Poetes de son age:" but of all his numerous poetical essays, Voltaire would reduce to the compass of a few pages such as he deems worthy to be now read.

Melin de Saint Gelais, a natural son of Octavien, a distinguished poet of the preceding reign, had the reputation of being one of the most learned persons of the court of Francis I. He was a musician, divine, jurisconsult, as well as poet; considered indeed as a proficient in the whole circle of sciences. He became Abbé de Reclus, and afterwards arrived at more considerable honours. In the epigram he was thought to dispute the palm with Marot. His vein was jocose, but often too keen and pungent: and his propensity to satire created many enemies. Having in early life studied in Italy, he was, as some have said, the first who introduced the sonnet into the French poetry. He translated the *Sophonisba* of Trissino. His other poetical works are various. M. de la Monnoye thinks his fugitive pieces in general happily conceived and well expressed: and even not unworthy of a modern age: and that in such sources some moderns have fished for prey. But as the manners of his time were exceedingly licentious, sacred and profane are frequently mingled and confounded together in those pieces, at the caprice of the moment. Yet, says the same critic, he was a philosopher, and met with stoicism the most untoward events, as it appears from the following passage of his poems:

> Si pour se plaindre & pour larmes jetter
> On pouvoit rompre un malheur survénu

Les pleurs devroient poids de l'or s'achetter
Comme sur tout remède cher tenu.
Mais puisqu'un mal ne peut n'estre advenu
Soit qu'en pleurions, ou rions jour & nuit,
De quoi nous sert se plaindre & mener bruit,
Et nous donner nouveaux maux & alarmes ?
Si n'est ainsy qu'un arbre porte fruict,
Ainsi douleur doit apporter des larmes.

Whence, it may be inquired, had St. Gelais this sentiment? Critics indeed tell us of a certain fragment of Philemon, an old Greek comic poet, commencing thus:

Εἰ τὰ δάκρυ' ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἦν φάρμακον.

We have the "Fictum pro antiquo," which Muretus imposed upon Joseph Scaliger, as the composition of Quintus Trabea, a Latin comic writer, whose works are lost:

Here, si querelis, ejulatu, fletibus
Medicina fieret miseriis mortalium,
Auro parandæ lacrumæ contra forent:
Nunc hæc ad minuenda mala non magis valent,
Quam nænia præficæ ad excitandos mortuos.
Res turbidæ consilium, non fletum, expetunt.

Sarbievius, the Polish bard, has borrowed and more fully amplified the sense of the French poet, *Liber IV. ode XIII.* In the subsequent attempt at a version of his ode, I have ventured on the same freedom which these poets have taken with each other.

AD CÆSAREM PAUSILIPIUM.

Si quæ flent mala lugubres
Auferrent oculi, Sidoniis ego

Mercarer bene lacrymas
Gemmis, aut teretum merce monilium.
At ceu rore seges viret
Sic crescunt riguis tristia fletibus.
Urget lacryma lacrymam,
Fœcundusque sui se numerat Dolor.
Quem Fortuna semel virum
Udo degenerem lumine viderit,
Illum sæpe ferit: mala
Terrentur tacito Fata silentio.
Ne te, ne tua fleveris
Quæ tu care vocas Pausilipi, mala.
Quam pellunt lacrymæ, fovent
Sortem: dura negant cedere mollibus.
Siccas si videat genas,
Duræ cedet hebes Sors patientiæ.

Could tears allay that bosom's pain,
If costliest gems were thine,
I'd bid thee barter all, to gain
A balsam so divine.

Alas! they cherish and augment
Those wounds which they bedew:
As vernal showers by their descent
The expanding buds renew.

Tear urges tear, as from its source
Each pearly drop distils,
Till the full stream's incessant course
Its furrowed channel fills.

Degenerate man! lo! Fortune views
Such weakness with disdain;
And her redoubled stroke pursues
The sufferers that complain.

But when no childish plaints or tears
A fainting soul betray,

She wavers, stands aloof, and fears,
And feels herself dismay.

Be firm—nor think so harsh a foe
To women's arts shall yield:
Bare thy bold breast to meet the blow,
Then hope to win the field.

Melin de S. Gelais did not embrace the ecclesiastical state till after his return from Italy. Du Verdier speaks of his poetry in terms of peculiar praise. He seems to have considered the tragedy before mentioned as an original work. He composed, (says he,) "Sophonisba, Tragédie très ex-" cellente," &c. the chorusses only being in verse, the rest in prose. S. Gelais had early pretensions to the merits of a Latin poet: and it has been said, that in his latter years, jealous of the rising fame of Pierre Rousard, he again had recourse to classical poetry. Niceron reports, that almost in the last stage of the illness which terminated his life, he composed the following address to his Lyre:

Barbite quæ varios lenisti pectoris æstus,
Dum juvenem nunc sors nunc agitabat amor,
Perfice ad extremum: rapidæque incendia febris
Qua potes infirmo fac leviora seni.
Certe ego te faciam superas evectus ad auras
Insignem ad Cytharæ sidus habere locum.

Amongst others of inferior note I find mention of Antoine Heroet, (Antonius Heroicus,) a native of Paris, who flourished also under the patronage

of Francis I. His poetry, though now consigned to neglect, was formerly held in esteem. Du Verdier terms him "heureux illustrateur du haut sens "de Platon." The works of this author are *La parfaite amie en trois livres; L'Androgyne de Platon; Complainte d'une dame*, &c. printed *a Lyon*, 8vo, 1547, and *Paris*, 1544. Marot enumerates him among "les beaux esprits" of the age: and M. de la Monnoye says, his poems acquired him the bishopric of Digne, to which he was nominated by Francis I. For favourable mention of his poem *de l'Androgyne*, Bayle may be consulted under the word "Sadeur." He was called "le poëte philosophique." Some pretend that he was secretly attached to Calvinism.

Antoine Macault, a Poictevin, was one of the chamberlains of Francis I. who distinguished himself by the translation of various portions of Latin classic authors into the French: some part also of the history of Diodorus Siculus, an oration of Isocrates, and some of the works of Erasmus. He translated also the *Batrachomyomachia* into French verse; printed by *Wechel, Par.* 1540, in 4to. Not to mention here the celebrated Jacques Amyot, who, though patronised in early years by Marguerite the sister of Francis, yet seems rather to belong to the succeeding reign, Antoine du Moulin, a valet de chambre of the same princess after she became queen of Navarre, may also be

named as conspicuous in the like department; having transferred into his native tongue the works of Æsop, various parts of Epictetus and Plutarch, and otherwise figured as an author and translator; as may be seen in the catalogues of Du Verdier and la Croix du Maine. Under this reign also, Jean Martin of Paris produced French versions from the Italian of various popular works; and is said to have been the reviser of a translation of Orlando Furioso by an unknown hand.

But I shall not dwell upon the enumeration of authors of such inferior note, who, in the courts of Francis and of Marguerite de Valois, advanced their respective claims to the laurels and bays of erudition, from the rank of valet de chambre, to the station occupied by Triboulet. For amongst the works of this period, I find also *Les Lamentations & Complaintes de Triboulet fol du Roi qu'il fait contre la mort, rime, imprimé a Paris, sans date.* Triboulet was fool to Louis XII. and afterwards to Francis I. Jean Marot, the father of Clement, in his *Description du Voyage de Venise de Louis XII. in* 1509, describes him thus:

> Triboulet fut un fol de la tête écorné
> Aussi sage à trente ans que le jour qu'il fut né,
> Petit front & gros yeux, nez grand taillé à vote,
> Estomac plat & long, haut dos à porter hote.
> Chacun contrefaisoit, chanta, dansa, prêcha,
> Et de tout si plaisant, qu'onc homme il ne fâcha.

Even the ladies of the court partook of the general enthusiasm; and some of them raised their pretensions to classical eminence. Amongst such, under the tuition of Du Chastel, was Margaret, daughter of Francis I. Queen Eleonore, his second wife and sister of the emperor Charles V. translated a work of Raymundus Sebundus from Latin into French, intitled *Dialogues de la Nature de l'homme*, otherwise, *Théologie Naturelle de Raymond Sebon, or Sibon.* He was of the Spanish nation, esteemed a profound theologian, and one of the greatest philosophers of his time. Queen Eleonore's translation, a work so rare as almost to have been unknown to bibliographers, was sold at a public auction in Leipsic, *anno* 1739.

But Marguerite de Valois, the sister of the king, whom we have already so often mentioned, stood preeminent both as an authoress and a protectress of literature. Her first husband was Charles, last duke of Alençon, who died in 1525, of grief (it is said) for the loss of the battle of Pavia. She was united afterwards to Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre, by whom she became the mother of Jeanne d'Albret, who espoused Antoine de Bourbon, father of Henry IV.

Marguerite, who was celebrated for her beauty and wit, and highly favoured men of erudition, was overwhelmed by them with eulogies in re-

turn. Inscriptions were composed, medals were struck to her honour: and she was termed "la "dixième Muse & la quatrième Grace." One of her religious productions has been already mentioned. Of a lighter kind, *La Marguerite des Marguerites,* containing her comedies and poems, &c. was published (by her valet) in 1547. The "Contes," or Tales, ascribed to her, and written in imitation of those of Boccace, which seem to accord so ill with her reputation, and the dignity of the throne are we are told, the consequence of the taste of that age, which was not yet purified from the indelicacy of the preceding, wherein licentiousness was carried to the greatest excess. "Nothing" (say her apologists) "is thence to be "concluded to the prejudice of her morals and "sentiments. Her disposition" (they add) "ap- "pears in her fourth letter to the king her bro- "ther, in which she commends him for having "vanquished his passions, and renounced his illi- "cit amours. Nothing can be more modest and "more prudent than her language on this occa- "sion [c]."

[c] Beza's eulogium of this princess is expressed in the following manner: "Francisco Regi fratri Margaretam sororem "adjungere fas esto: dignam scilicet quæ vel in ipsius sacra- "rii penetrali collocetur: fœminam ut ingenii elegantia & acu- "mine fratri parem, sic pietatis cognitione & juvandæ Christi "ecclesiæ zelo, quo fratris iras pro viribus temperavit & cui "conservatos plurimos optimos viros debemus, laude dignam

Before I conclude these general notices of the court of Francis and of his personal character, I shall mention a singular circumstance relating to his visit to Toulouse in the year 1533. On that occasion Blaise d'Auriol, bachelier en droit, was deputed to address the king in a complimentary oration, by the university of that city. At the instance of the orator, Francis is said to have conferred on the university of Toulouse the title of noble, and upon the professors the privilege of conferring knighthood. D'Auriol was first decorated with this honour; and the ceremony having been announced by the public crier, was performed in the month of September of the same year. "It "must" (says my author) "have been an extraor- "dinary spectacle, to see the 'Docteur Regent' "gird the sword upon Blaise d'Auriol, present "him with the golden spurs, place the gold chain "around his neck, and the ring upon his finger: "and no less entertaining to hear the new-made "knight, invested with these misplaced orna- "ments, pronounce a Latin oration on his own "inauguration into such an order of chivalry."

Voltaire in his "Siècle de Louis XIV." confesses that Francis I. "fit naître les lettres & tous "les arts:" but in his overstrained complaisance

"sempiternâ: quamvis ipsius gloriæ nonnullam in ultimâ tan- "dem ipsius ætate crudelitas labem asperserit." *Beza, in Iconibus,* &c.

to Louis XIV. he adds: "Mais il fut trop mal-"heureux pour leur faire prendre racine en "France, & tous périrent avec lui." Francis assuredly expedited the restoration of useful and rational learning in his dominions, by his great personal munificence, and his judicious use and improvement of those lights of returning science, which were now breaking in upon his, and the surrounding nations, with a strength which no individual monarch's death could extinguish. Though his reign was interrupted by a premature decease, yet candour must acknowledge, that many of his services to literature were of a nature too efficacious and lasting, to perish with him. Civil discord might afterwards retard the progress of learning and science, but it could not obliterate the memory of this monarch's benefits, or destroy the effects of his example: which, as more ingenuous authors confess, not only had a powerful influence upon his successors, but stimulated the sovereigns of other nations also to like exertions.

Finally, Du Verdier notices an incentive of an equally imperishable nature. He confesses, that what he calls the LUTHERAN HERESY, and the controversies to which it gave rise, conspired greatly to the improvement of elegant literature. The advocates of the reformation shewing themselves in their compositions to be persons of great intellectual ability, and profound research in sa-

cred and classical literature, of which they made a great use in their writings, severely ridiculing the ignorance and barbarism of their opponents, at length roused the catholic doctors to like researches. Quitting their traditions, their scholastic subtilties, and like follies, to which they had been so much attached, they now strove to express their conceptions in a rational and elegant form, and to call in the aid of that species of erudition, which they had hitherto maligned as a source of heresy.

CHAPTER XII.

R. ESTIENNE CONTINUED—PETRUS CASTELLANUS—STEPHANUS DOLETUS.

PIERRE DU CHASTEL, (Petrus Castellanus,) was not as Beza and others pretend, a person of obscure birth, but of honourable extraction. At an early age having been deprived of his parents, he was sent to Dijon to study under the direction of Pierre Turreau, (Turrellus,) who had the reputation of a skilful instructor in the Latin tongue. Du Chastel's earliest attention to the Greek was excited by the Greek words and sentences which he found interspersed in the "Noctes Atticæ" of Aulus Gellius. He procured an alphabet and a rude lexicon of that language, and commenced the study of it with such avidity, that without the aid of any instructor his proficiency was not inconsiderable. He afterwards became a professor at Dijon, and successfully defended Turreau, his former preceptor, in a Latin oration, when he was criminally arraigned for the practice of judicial astrology, contrary to the canon and civil law.

The early life of du Chastel was fruitful in in-

cident. He was soon conducted by his ardour for learning to various cities of Germany, and particularly to Basil, whither he was attracted by the fame of Erasmus, in whose literary labours he participated for a time as a corrector of the press of Froben. He returned to Dijon; and afterwards repaired to Bruges, where under Alciatus he studied the civil law. After the completion of his legal studies he visited Paris, and there found the means of gratifying his earnest desire of seeing more distant regions. For this purpose he obtained the appointment of private secretary to the bishop of Auxerre, who was about to depart for Rome as the ambassador of Francis I. to the supreme pontiff. After a short stay in that city, where he saw much to disgust him in the pride, luxury, and disingenuousness of the pontifical court, he obtained permission of the ambassador to repair to Venice. There, on the recommendation of Janus Lascaris, he accepted an invitation from the bishop and citizens of Nicosia, in the island of Cyprus, to become their public lecturer on the Latin orators, historians, and poets, with an annual stipend of two hundred ducats. This employment he discharged very creditably for the space of two years.

At the end of that period, du Chastel having embarked in a Genoese vessel, sailed from the island of Cyprus to Alexandria in Egypt, and af-

terwards joined a caravan of merchants destined for Grand Cairo. In this journey and his subsequent adventures, he encountered various perils and misfortunes. Having strayed from his companions, he fell into the hands of banditti, from whom he with difficulty escaped, naked and destitute; and was indebted for his subsequent preservation to the humanity of a Greek woman professing Christianity, who relieved his immediate necessities, and furnished him with letters of recommendation to a native of France then resident at Grand Cairo. From this person he received many seasonable benefits; and long afterwards found means of compensating his hospitality and kindness. Travelling subsequently through Arabia Petræa, he visited Palestine, and remained two months at Jerusalem. In his return from thence to Damascus he fell in with a band of prædatory Arabs, from whom he had the address, or rather the good fortune, to escape. Thence he proceeded to Antioch; and afterwards along the Golfo dell' Ajazza to Cogni, the ancient Iconium, where he was left dangerously sick by his companions; but recovered through the care and humanity of a benevolent Jew physician, who on this occasion acted the part of the good Samaritan, and left no kind office unperformed. Hence, at length proceeding through Asia Minor, he arrived in safety at Constantinople.

In that city du Chastel found an ambassador of Francis I. to whom he communicated his desire of returning to his native country. The ambassador furnished him with very honourable recommendations both to the sovereign himself, and to the principal nobility of the French court. To those were added others, which he obtained at Venice on his way home, from the cardinal du Bellay, and the bishops of Lavaur and Poictou: which secured to our traveller an honourable reception in his native land.

His pleasing address, and his extensive information, soon recommended him to the personal favour of the French monarch; who had a high opinion of his geographical knowledge in particular, and heard with pleasure the recital of his various adventures. Du Chastel was admitted as one of the king's domestic establishment, and soon afterwards appointed to the office of his anagnostes, or reader, which became vacant by the dismissal of Jacques Colin. Francis charged himself with the care of his further advancement, and ever afterwards continued to distinguish him with special marks of his royal favour. As Anagnostes Regius, it was his particular office to read and explain to the king at the hours immediately preceding those of repose, passages of the Greek and Latin historians and poets; which he interpreted as literally as possible in the French tongue. At

dinner his official station was generally near the king's person; who frequently addressed to him such questions, as gave him an opportunity of displaying in his answers that learning, discretion, and engaging elocution, for which he was remarkable. His action was graceful, his voice sweet and pleasing, and his whole deportment prepossessing: and his observations evinced great ingenuity combined with deliberate reflection, and a well regulated judgment: so that we are told, as often as he spoke, the various guests at the royal table listened with profound attention; and the king himself generally testified the most unequivocal approbation.

With these personal duties to the monarch, Du Chastel united the office of private instructor to the princess Margaret his daughter, in Greek and Latin literature, in which her proficiency is said to have been very considerable. But all these avocations did not preclude him from the most sedulous and indefatigable application to his private studies. He had previously been invested with the possession of several rich ecclesiastical preferments; and in 1539, was appointed by his royal patron to the bishopric of Tulle en Limousin. We are told that his unwearied lucubrations were such as became his character, and especially directed to the holy Scriptures in the original tongues. His great influence at court was uni-

formly employed in the promotion of moderate sentiments, and a liberal conduct with regard to the religious controversies which then prevailed, and in the encouragement of elegant and useful learning.

At the special intercession of Du Chastel, the enlargement and pardon of the celebrated Doletus was procured, when, in consequence of the first charge of heresy alleged against him, he had suffered a long imprisonment. This act gave great offence to several of the most powerful persons in the court of Francis; and in a very angry speech made in the presence of the king, the cardinal de Tournon severely reflected upon Du Chastel, that holding the station and emoluments of an orthodox bishop in the church, he patronised the cause of Lutheranism and impiety. Du Chastel, after a short pause, rejoined with warmth, that he had acted as really became a Christian bishop, and a minister of that religion, the characteristic of which was mildness and mercy; but that the cardinal sought to degrade the episcopal character to the office of an executioner: "se de quo accusabatur "in accusatorem merito retorquere posse: cum "ipse quod viri ecclesiastici & veri pontificis pro- "prium esset fecisset, ille vero quod veri carni- "ficis esset ab episcopis exigeret." A still more important service to humanity recorded of him, was his interposition with the king at that time

successful, for the pardon of the Waldenses; when many others of the court were exciting him to the most rigorous measures against them. On this occasion, the queen of Navarre is said, with expressions of admiration, to have returned thanks to heaven for the preservation of a whole people, by means of one from whom such a benefit could not have been expected. The important services which this prelate rendered to Robert Estienne during his persecution by the Sorbonne, afford an additional proof of those mild and liberal principles by which he was actuated. He was not ignorant of Robert's predilection for the new opinions; but he was sensible also of his great personal merit, his learning, and professional excellences; and could not endure that the divines of Paris, under the pretence of heresy, should interdict every work of a theological kind that issued from his press. At his earnest instance it was, that the king enjoined the doctors of the Sorbonne to define the exceptionable passages, and publish them with their own "censures" and remarks: in order that those censures being subjoined to the respective works, the poison, or heterodox matter, if any were contained in them, might be provided with its own antidote.

Such being the conduct of Du Chastel on these critical occasions, it must not be imagined that he escaped suspicion of being secretly inclined to the

cause of reformation. But his biographer will not allow his orthodoxy to have been further questionable, than that aware of the many corruptions and abuses prevailing in the papal hierarchy, he was desirous of seeing them restrained and corrected by a general synod ecclesiastically called, or some such mild and moderate expedient. But to a total and violent defection from the church of Rome he was really averse; and earnestly exerted his eloquence and address to preserve Francis in his allegiance to the papal see.

Upon a particular occasion, Henry VIII. of England transmitted to Francis I. a certain book or memoir, in which the chief heads of his religious creed were detailed; and his reasons alleged for separating from the church of Rome, and disavowing the supremacy of its pontiff. In the same memoir, Henry made mention of his having alienated many of the ecclesiastical revenues and possessions, those in particular of the monastic orders: "monachorum reliquorumque in ecclesia "fucorum," &c. Francis, we are told, declared his disapprobation of many things contained in this memorial; but said he thought the English monarch had done right in alienating these means, which had been so grossly abused to the purposes of luxury and flagitiousness: especially as they might be rendered conducive to the alleviation of the burthens of the nation, or be employed in pur-

poses of real charity and utility, and the encouragement of useful learning. The king addressed himself more especially to Du Chastel, as expecting his reply. The latter felt the delicacy of his situation: but acquitted himself with his usual felicity, by observing, "that to abuse the wealth "of the church to purposes of luxury and sen- "suality, assuredly was a heinous crime; but to "such an evil kings themselves had heretofore "been accessory in no small degree, by procuring "the appointment of the most improper persons "to fill those sacred trusts: that only by the "correction of this error the patrimony of the "church could be restored to its legitimate use "and destination; but that to alienate and ap- "ply to civil uses that which had originally been "bequeathed and bestowed with the most pious "intentions, and for the best ends," he argued at length, "would neither be consistent with rea- "son and good faith, nor really advantageous to "the state. Let persons," he concluded, "distin- "guished for erudition and sanctity of life, be "called to ecclesiastical dignities and offices; and "the unworthy, or drones, be banished from the "sacred functions. Such, sire! should be the "measures of regal authority; rather than, after "the example of the English monarch, by vest- "ing in itself the double power of church and "state, to confound all distinctions of right, and

" leave nothing definite or peculiar to either." Francis applauded the sentiments of Du Chastel; and audibly declared, that Henry in his opinion, prompted by the mere plenitude and wantonness of power, was continually devising some monstrous and unprecedented measure: " Eum sibi vi- " deri regnandi satietate affectum, inusitata & pro- " digiosa variarum rerum monstra quotidie pa- " rere."

When Du Poyet the chancellor of France, on a certain occasion told the king, who was then labouring under great pecuniary difficulties in consequence of an expensive war, that he had an unqualified right to the national wealth, and the fortunes of his subjects; and cited a passage from one of the historical books of the Old Testament in confirmation of this assertion: whilst all the other members of the council remained mute with astonishment, Du Chastel undertook the arduous task of refuting this pernicious doctrine; which he performed with so much eloquence, propriety, and discretion, that upon this peculiarly delicate occasion also, he obtained his ingenuous sovereign's entire concurrence and approbation.

I have been more minute perhaps, than some readers may think necessary, in my notice concerning this prelate and scholar, whose erudition and probity gained him so large a portion of royal favour: and of whom Francis is said frequently

to have declared, that though he had enjoyed the society and conversation of many persons of more than ordinary acquirements, with the exception of Du Chastel, he had met with none whose learning and information an acquaintance of two years had not exhausted.

In advancing the interests of literature, to which Francis himself was so happily inclined, Du Chastel was incessant and ardent; and by his advice, no less than that of Budæus and of the cardinal du Bellay, that monarch was determined to adopt the measures which we have already mentioned. Du Chastel, in the succeeding reign, was advanced to the dignity of grand almoner of France, and preferred to the bishopric of Orleans. There is nothing of his extant, excepting an account of the ceremonial of the interment of Francis I. and two funeral orations in honour of his memory, pronounced in the cathedral of Notre Dame. I have already mentioned them in the annual series of Robert Estienne's impressions; and shall here briefly add, that they are composed with great eloquence; and furnish various particulars concerning the life, private character, and last moments of that munificent king, which even at the present time cannot be perused with indifference. The biographer of Du Chastel was Pierre Galland, or Petrus Gallandius, a contemporary scholar, whose name is found in that charter of the Collège Royal

which bears date in the year 1545, as the professor of Latin literature in that institution. He was a canon of the cathedral of Paris. His account of the life of Du Chastel ("Petri Castellani "Vita,") is written with an elegance which satisfactorily evinces his fitness for the royal professorship before mentioned, and the rapid improvement in Latin composition which was made during this reign. It remained unpublished till the year 1674, when a handsome edition of it appeared under the superintendence of M. Baluze [a].

Stephanus Doletus, or Estienne Dolet, a native of Orleans, or its vicinity, was born about the year 1509. His family was respectable. Some have pretended that he was a natural son of the duke de Valois, afterwards Francis I, but he was never recognised as such, and Niceron has observed that the date of that king's birth, 1494, renders such a story improbable.

At the age of twelve he was sent to Paris, and Nicolas Beroaldus became his preceptor in rhetoric. Subsequently he studied several years at Padua, under the tuition of Simon Villanovanus: after whose decease he accepted the office of secretary to the French ambassador at Venice, (Jean de Langeac,) and attended the lectures of Baptista Egnatius, who explained Cicero's Offices and Lu-

[a] Stephani Baluzii Vita Petri Castellani. *Parisiis*, 1674. 8vo.

cretius. On his return to France in the train of the ambassador, he continued to study the works of Cicero, his favourite author; and began to collect materials for his *Commentaria Linguæ Latinæ.*

Having been advised to study jurisprudence at Toulouse, he was chosen orator of a youthful club; and in that character indulged himself in certain caustic reflections on the authorities of Toulouse, calling them ignorant and barbarous. Another student warmly espoused the cause of the city. This led to replies and rejoinders, and at length to the imprisonment of Doletus. After a month's confinement he was expelled from Toulouse. This happened in 1533.

He retired to Lyons, intent on printing certain "Orationes in Tholosam, Carmina, & Epistolæ," and became sick there: but one Simon Finet, a student who accompanied him from Toulouse, procured the impression of the defamatory pieces during the author's infirmity. In 1534, he came to Paris, and published other works: returned to Lyons in April 1536; but in the year following, having killed a man who attacked him, was obliged to have recourse to flight: came again to Paris, implored the king's pardon, and obtained it. Doletus laments this event in several passages of his Latin poems.

Soon afterwards, he is found again at Lyons in

the character of a printer; and the first production of his press was the collection of his own poems: *Carminum Libri IV.* 4*to, Lugduni,* 1538. About this time he married; and in 1539, had a son named Claude, whose birth he commemorates in some verses which he printed that year.

Though few of the incidents of his life are known, it would appear from some lines of his "Second Enfer," that he was imprisoned twice at Lyons, and once at Paris, after his incarceration at Toulouse, and before that final one at Paris which preceded his condemnation. Hence Franciscus Floridus, in a tract published *Romæ,* 1541, calls, says Niceron, "la prison, la patrie de Dolet." The occasions of these successive imprisonments are unknown: but it is supposed, his satirical and overbearing temper had made him many enemies; and that they, availing themselves of the freedom with which he had spoken on religious subjects, took occasion to bring him into trouble. It is certain at least, that upon a religious charge he was imprisoned at Paris in 1544; but on that occasion he obtained his liberation, as we have before shewn, through the kind offices of Pierre du Chastel, then bishop of Tulle. He promised (says Niceron) to be for the future a good catholic, but perhaps kept not his word: for he was again arrested in the following year, and unfortunately, no one interceded for him. He was condemned

to the flames as a heretic, or rather (he adds) as an atheist; and the sentence was carried into execution at Paris, Aug. 3rd, 1546. He was first strangled, and afterwards burned; and thus perished at the age of thirty-seven years.

That Doletus should have exposed himself to martyrdom by the rash profession of atheistical sentiments, seems very incredible: for he is said by Junius to have recommended himself to God in his last moments. But if his case involved a question of heterodoxy with respect to the religious disputes of the time, it is extraordinary that he met with as little commiseration from the reformed, as from his catholic persecutors. Niceron considers that well known punning story as an invention "après coup:" that when the victim, on his way to the scene of punishment, observed the popular signs of compassion, he exclaimed:

"Non dolet ipse Dolet, sed pia turba dolet."

upon which the confessor who attended him, said:

"Non pia turba dolet, sed dolet ipse Dolet."

Calvin is reported to have described this unfortunate man as an impious wretch and an atheist. Theodore Beza when he composed his "Juveni-" "lia," thought and spoke more charitably:

Ardentem medio rogo Doletum
Cernens Aonidum chorus sororum,
Charus ille diu chorus Doleto,

Totus ingemuit; nec ulla prorsus
E sororibus est reperta cunctis,
Naias nulla, Dryasve, Nereisve,
Quæ non vel lachrymis suis, vel hausta
Fontis Pegasei studeret unda,
Crudeles adeo domare flammas.

But he suppressed this liberal testimony in later editions of his poems.

A writer, but one of a very malevolent character, cited by Niceron, gives a revolting description of Doletus: first, of his person: "Calvus est "ad inanis medium usque cranii. Togulam ges- "tabat Hispanicam vix nates contegentem, eam- "que crassam & attritam. Vultus adeo funesto "quodam atroque pallore ac squalore obsitus est, "ut dicas ultricem furiam pectori affixam," &c. and afterwards, "vix hominis habet faciem." Secondly, describing his disposition, he terms him: "Vecors, insanus, furiosus, rabiosus, gloriosus, "procax, maledicus, petulans, vanus, mendax, im- "pudens, arrogans, impius: sine Deo, sine fide, "sine religione ulla." This charitable writer describes him as at that period, (1535,) "ejecti vic- "tum tyranni quæritans;" or in other words, supporting himself by teaching a school at Lyons [b].

Niceron himself considers Doletus to have been eccentric in all respects: extremely caressed by some, mortally hated by others: overwhelming

[b] Niceron, tom. XXI. p. 114. seqq.

some with praises, abusing others without measure: always assailing, and always assailed: learned beyond his age: studious without relaxation: but certainly irascible, contemptuous, vindictive, and restless. M. de la Monnoye denies him all pretensions to Greek literature; thinks his Latin prose stiff and laboured, and his Latin verses contemptible, especially his lyrics; but gives him credit for skill and accuracy as a French writer of that day.

Through the Ciceronian controversy he became the literary enemy of Erasmus and his partisans: and drew upon himself the indignation of Scaliger, for meddling in the dispute, after the latter had, as he thought, said enough on the same side of the question.

The *Commentariorum Linguæ Latinæ tomi duo, Lugduni apud Sebastianum Gryphium*, fol. 1536, 1538, is a great and elaborate work of Doletus, forming a kind of Dictionary of the Latin language, by "phrases" and "loci communes." In this work, to use the terms of Niceron, "il s'étoit "attaché uniquement aux termes de la langue, à "en marquer la force, l'usage, les diverses signifi- "cations, et à en donner des exemples choisis, pre- "mièrement dans Ciceron, et ensuite dans les "autres auteurs de la bonne Latinité." This production is inscribed to Francis I, by a prose dedi-

cation and a Latin poem [c], which are followed by an epistle and verses addressed to Gulielmus Bu-

[c] The following portion of the ode in which Francis I. is here addressed by Doletus, may serve as a specimen of his poetry:

Francisce, non uno quidem, sed omnibus
Rex digne regnis, quî fit, ut
Oblivione livida Gallorum honos
Impune carpatur latens?
Et nocte longa huc usque pressus, lumine
Caruerit? An quòd defuit
Gallis sua olim laus, vel ampli nominis
Celebritas? an quòd mari
Terraque non res gesserint perennibus
Chartis reponendas? Nihil
Tale obstat, ut ne addamur astris & polo.
Nam sive laude virium,
Seu Marte prospero vetusta sæcula
Certent, feremus protinus
Primas, nec ulla gloriæ amplitudine
Cedemus externis locis.
Sed quando scriptorum elegantium manu,
Vatumque caruimus sonis,
Taciturnitas nostris meritis diu obstitit.
. . . . . .
Quare fave Musis, easque amantibus,
Ut nomen æternent tuum,
Gallisque quod deest ad immensum decus,
Scripto expleant & literis.

It is remarkable that Dolet has prefixed to his "Sommaire "& Recueil," &c. a translation of the preceding, entitled,

Cantique au Roy mesmes.

Roy de François non d'ung royaulme digne
Mais vray esleu (comme Prince condigne)

dæus: and the volumes are recommended by all the magnificence and perfection which the celebrated press of Sebastian Gryphius could exhibit. They are now of rare occurrence, and have usually been rated at a considerable price. A volume of supplementary treatises was promised; but the author's misfortunes or various occupations proved an effectual impediment to its appearance. Another kindred work of Doletus, *Formulæ Latinarum locutionum illustriorum, Lugd.* 1539, fol. contains only one part of those which were projected. It was republished by Sturmius, in conjunction with *Huberti Sussanæi Connubia adverbiorum Ciceronianorum, Argentorati,* 1596, in 8vo.

De re navali liber, ad Lazarum Bayfium, Lugduni, 1537, 4to. Doletus was accused by Carolus Stephanus of having stolen the materials of this treatise from the book of Bayfius on the same subject: and it appears, says Niceron, from the

> Pour governer du monde la machine
> Par mer & terre, &c.

It terminates thus:

> Doncques tu scais de vivre le moyen
> Apres la mort: c'est d'eslargir du tien
> Aux gens sçavans. Croy, par tel entretien
> Tousjours seras.
> Plus: des Françoys l'honneur recouvreras
> Mis en oubly par faulte d'ung bon livre,
> Ayme eloquentz: ce faisant, bien feras.
> Par leurs escriptz tousjours te feront vivre.

abusive terms which he throws out against Estienne, in defending himself, how intolerant he was on such occasions as compromised his vanity, or excited his resentment.

Francisci Valesii Gallorum regis fata, ubi rem omnem celebriorem a Gallis gestam noscas ab anno 1513, *ad annum* 1539, *Stephano Doleto autore, Lugduni, typis autoris,* 1539, 4to. Item, en François, *Sommaire des faits & gestes de François I. tant contre l'Empereur que ses sujets & autres nations étrangeres, traduit du Latin par l'auteur, Lyon,* 1540, 4to. *Paris,* 1543, 8vo. The Latin original is in verse, the French translation such high flown prose as might be expected. These are singular and uncommon.

I shall not stay to enumerate all the productions of Dolet, for Niceron has specified at least twenty-four distinct works by him; many of which are in the French tongue, and several of a religious complexion; which may serve further to annul the charge of atheism or impiety. Doletus seems to adopt the language of decided fatalism: Maittaire finds not that he maintained otherwise any infidel tenets; says that in his instructions to his son he inculcates the being of God, the immortality of the soul, and the hope of heaven, together with pure moral precepts: that he seems to have in some respects differed from

the church of Rome: and to have been an advocate for the perusal of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues.

This singular, mysterious, and ill-fated scholar exercised at Lyons, as we have said, the profession of an "Imprimeur," but the productions of his press are comparatively few, and of rare occurrence. His *insigne typographicum* or MARK, bears an obscure allusion to his name: a HAND furnished with an AXE, and hewing a knotty block of wood, which is marked by a line: "manus dola-" bra stipitem nodosam & informem ad amussim " dolans," (says Maittaire,) with the legend: "Sca-" bra & impolita ad amussim dolo atque perpo-" lio:" and generally "ad finem libri," the same device, with the name "Doletus," and this motto:

"Durior est spectatæ virtutis quam incognitæ
" conditio."

CHAPTER XIII.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—HIS FURTHER CONTESTS WITH THE SORBONNE—NEW GREEK AND OTHER IMPRESSIONS—O MIRIFICAM GREEK TESTAMENTS—NOV. TESTAMENTUM GR. OF 1550, IN FOL.—HONESTY OF ROBERT VINDICATED FROM THE IMPUTATIONS OF MR. PORSON—CONTINUED ENMITY OF THE DIVINES—1547-1550.

HENRY II. the son and successor of Francis I. took possession of the throne of France, on the decease of his father, in 1547. He was a prince more brave than politic: not indisposed to the patronage of genius and literature; but generally through financial embarrassments, wanting the means of indulging his liberal inclinations: and moreover, so destitute of personal discernment and discretion, confidence in his own judgment, and firmness of resolution, that his opinions and measures were too prone to derive their varying tinge and character, from the artful suggestions of those courtiers, who chanced to be at any particular juncture most influential.

At the period of his inauguration, the new king's disposition and sentiments seem to have

been favourable to Robert Estienne. On the 16th day of August, in the year of his accession, Henry addressed a brief to the Sorbonne divines, in which, having noticed their contumacy towards the deceased monarch, he commands them forthwith to finish their "Censuræ," threatening, that in case of further tergiversation and delay, the privy council should take measures for their chastisement. This produced an engagement or promise on their part, that previously to the ensuing festival of All Saints, they will make public their "Censures" of the heresies and errors which they have detected in the several Bibles of Robert Estienne. He presented himself at court on the day appointed: but instead of the expected "Censuræ," his adversaries preferred a petition that the sale of his Bibles might be interdicted. They asserted that he was a "Sacramentarian;" and that he had maintained that "the souls of men are mortal." From such charges Robert seems to have vindicated himself energetically and satisfactorily. He persisted in requiring that the censures should be produced. The delegates of the divines answered, that they were not yet digested into a proper form: but Robert continued his instances that they might be compelled to bring forward their specific charges in his presence.

At length, ten of their number presented themselves at the royal residence of Fontainebleau;

amongst whom were several of Robert's most powerful adversaries. The principal members of the king's council were there assembled, including several cardinals and bishops, the king's chancellor, and various distinguished statesmen. By order of this council, forty-six objectionable "arti-"cles," or passages, were reluctantly produced by the divines, partly with censure, and partly without. The printer is permitted to speak in his own defence. Both parties having been heard, are directed to withdraw. They are afterwards recalled into the council-chamber; and the hostile doctors are forbidden to arrogate to themselves, in future, the "jus censorium;" which is declared to belong to the bishops only. The prelates and cardinals, having attentively examined the articles or charges received, find no force in any, excepting perhaps five or six of them; which were liable to objection, yet might be favourably explained: "qui calum-"niæ obnoxii essent: non tamen carerent idonea "excusatione."

Enraged and disappointed, the deputies of the Sorbonne return to Paris; and there, by some dexterous change of manœuvres, not only succeed in procuring an order for a temporary suspension of the sale of Robert's Bibles, but a royal mandate also, that the whole affair should be submitted to the examination of certain judges, whose office it was to take cognisance of matters of heresy. By

this artifice, Robert found himself exposed to the full malevolence of the president Lizet and his party; a judicature to which he was personally odious, and by whom his cause was already prejudged [a]. At length however, after an anxious attendance on the court of eight months' continuance, Robert obtained a counter mandate in due form, to cancel the foregoing dangerous order; and to confine the decision of his affair to the privy council only. This served to protect him subsequently, for a short period, from the malevolence of persecutors thus obstinately intent upon his ruin.

1548. In the beginning of this year Robert recommenced his professional labours; and in the course of it produced, *Alexandri Tralliani Medici Libri XII. Græce; & Rhazæ de Pestilentia libellus, ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam translatus; cum Jacobi Goupyli in eosdem castigationibus. Ex Bibl. Reg. Off. R. Steph. typis Regiis,* fol. This Dr. Harwood pronounces one of the most beautifully printed Greek books he had ever seen. *Dionis Romanarum Historiarum Libri XXIII.*

[a] "Causa mea devolvitur ad illos judices, qui, ut sponte "improbi non essent, in eo tamen iniquissimi erga me futuri "erant, quod intrepide damnabant quemcunque Theologi "damnandum pronunciassent." *Ad Censuras, &c. Respons.* p. 26.

a XXXVI. ad LVIII. usque, Græce, ex Bib. Reg. typ. Reg. fol. cal. Feb. This fine impression of Dio Cassius is the "editio princeps." *Commentarii Græcæ Linguæ Gulielmo Budæo auctore; ab eodem accurate recogniti atque amplius tertia parte aucti. Ex. off. R. Steph.* fol. A more magnificent impression than this cannot well be imagined. The paper, in the beauty and perfection of its manufacture, seems to vie with the press-work. It is in all respects a most finished volume. Amongst Robert's minor impressions of this year I shall mention, *Alphabetum Græcum*, 8vo; *Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ, Pagnino auctore*, 8vo; and *Theodori Bezæ Vezelii Poemata. Officina Conradi Badii, sed Prælum Ascensianum.* Ad fin. *R. Steph. & sibi & Conrado Badio excudebat.*

The French king being the same year intent upon passing the Alps, commenced his expedition from Troyes, whither he had arrived with a great retinue *idibus Maij.* The absence of the court, and a necessity of pursuing its movements, occasioned Robert this year to visit Lyons: and in this journey he is supposed to have performed a remarkable task, viz. that of subdividing the larger divisions, or chapters of the New Testament into verses. A great part of this undertaking he is said to have performed on horseback: ("inter equitandum.") The invention, if it be entitled to such a name, proved so generally ac-

ceptable, and obtained so great authority, that all editions of the New Testament were in a manner superseded, which did not conform to this device of Robert Estienne. I shall consider it more particularly *sub anno* 1551.

It was in the province of the Lyonnois, that Robert obtained at the moment of the king's departure for Turin, the royal mandate which I last mentioned; or to speak more accurately, two distinct mandates: one of which was addressed to the divines of the Sorbonne, enjoining them forthwith to expedite and finish the remaining articles; the other, to the judges in matters of heresy, inhibiting them from proceeding in the affair of Robert, notwithstanding the former "lettres mis-"sives," or order, which the Sorbonne had obtained for that purpose.

The divines finished the hundred and seven last "articles" at Paris, on the 15th day of March, 1548. Those denominated "priores articuli," were exhibited at Fontainebleau, in November 1547, as we have before mentioned. These second articles they transmitted to Lyons by two of the most inveterate of their party: but Robert had left that city before their arrival. The articles were therefore brought back to their authors; who with versatile policy now solicited the king's confessor [b] to

[b] "Dum hæc aguntur, interim sollicitat sacra Facultas probum "virum illum Guiancurtium, qui tunc regis erat confessor, ut

espouse their measures against Robert; and to use his influence with the king, that they might not be compelled to exhibit the remaining articles, and that Robert might be forthwith condemned. In the mean time the vacillating monarch, who had been induced by some passing events to return from Turin, was prevailed upon by the intrigues of Robert's enemies at court, to issue a new mandate for the suspension of the sale of his bibles: on condition however, that the "articles" should be exhibited. Of this circumstance our printer obtained no knowledge, till the king had arrived again at Lyons, (*cal. Octobr.*) There, when he presented himself before the cardinal of Guise, to return thanks for the kind offices which he had before done him, he was informed of the change which had taken place: and that there was no remedy.

Robert now declared to the cardinal, and to Du Chastel, his resolution to abandon his native coun-

"strenue et acriter ad me oppugnandum incumbat. Nam cum "boni sodales quædam adversus Lutheranos decerni postula- "rent: inter alia (erant autem capita ut opinor quinque nu- "mero) hoc mandabant, Vide, ne cogamur dare reliquum "articulorum in Rob. Stephanum, sed potius condemnetur "tanquam hæreticus. Quid enim, mechanicum hominem "vicisse collegium theologorum! Et in fine literarum (quas "ego ipse vidi & legi, & ipsi Guiancurtio dissimulanti narravi) "iterum adscriptum erat; 'Sur tout voyez que Robert Esti- "enne ne vainque.'" *Responsio, ut supra*, p. 29.

try. Du Chastel conferred with the king. The king acknowledged what he had done in compliance with the urgent instances of the faculty of divines; who pronounced our typographer a more dangerous person than the worst of heretics: but declared, he had complied with their request on no other condition than the speedy production of the articles. He bade Robert therefore take courage, and continue to discharge as usual, the important duties of king's printer.

And now, alarmed at this apparent change of circumstances in favour of Robert, the king's confessor engages the bishop of Avranches privately to advise him, under the pretence of friendship, to make his peace with the divines. He insinuates that such a measure will be far more for his advantage, than long excursions from home, and an endless warfare. Robert, not suspecting the bishop's real intentions, promises compliance [c]. The confessor is made a party in the consultation; and it is agreed that Robert should address a submissive or conciliatory letter to the faculty: under a promise that all past offences should be buried in oblivion. Their eagerness to obtain this letter awakens Robert's suspicions. He discovers the

[c] Robert records his own promise or consent in these terms: "Robertum Senalem accedo: scribere me velle ad "theologos dico, ut præterita sinamus effluere: nihil me "posthac sine ipsorum consilio facturum."

insincerity of the confessor's professions, and is incited to a violation of his engagement, seeing, as he says, no other way to escape. "Literas enim "a me captabat, quibus me haberent obnoxium, ut "nihil esset articulorum prolatione opus. Ego "vero ex ejus aucupio elabi cupiens, me jam "scripsisse fingo." *Resp. ad Cens. p.* 33. Here then, Robert had recourse to a breach of truth, or at least an evasion, confessedly discreditable to his character as a religious man. He had however, (we observe,) the ingenuousness to place it upon record.

A rumour at this time prevailed, that the king had issued an order, for the payment of fifteen hundred gold crowns to Robert, to make good his losses [d]. But his enemies so contrived, that no money was paid into his hands. The king however, continued to make him liberal promises. Robert with expressions of gratitude entreats his

[d] "Rumor est Regem jussisse R. Stephano mille & quingen-"tos aureos ad sarcienda quæ perpessus fuerat damna numera-"ri. Quas tunc turbas excitarunt? impiis dari præmia ad male "agendum: ad eadem patranda, hujusmodi præmiis similes in-"vitari. Efficiunt tandem suis clamoribus quod cupiebam, "(vere hoc dicam, liberum semper fuit ingenium, pecuniis "nunquam inservivi, laboribus assuefactus a Domino, ut avis "ad volatum) ut nullæ dentur pecuniæ. Annuit Rex: pollice-"tur tamen majori in re se fore erga me munificum ac libera-"lem. Ego vero gratiis actis, tantum rogo ut me ab adversa-"riis tueatur, id mihi omnibus pecuniis fore gratius." *Ad Cens. Resp.* p. 33.

majesty's protection against his enemies; which would be a favour more truly valuable than any pecuniary donation. After a further anxious solicitation and delay of three months, he obtains a new "brevet" of protection; which did not receive the royal seal, till it had undergone several tedious and vexatious revisions: such appear to have been the king's indecision, and the influence of the Sorbonne party about his person. And now, whilst the divines are preparing new persecutions, and indulging the most sanguinary expectations, in full confidence of having the victim at length within their grasp; and whilst a rumour is generally circulated, that in a few days he will be arrested, and thrown into prison; Robert has the satisfaction of making his "brief" public; which he had for a time purposely kept secret, that he might by its unexpected production, more fully triumph in the confusion and disappointment of his adversaries [e].

1549. Returning now to Robert's typographical operations, I shall first mention the following mis-

[e] "Par ces presentes disons & declairons que nostre vouloir "& intention est que le dict Estienne, nostre imprimeur, pour "raison de la dicte impression par luy faicte des Annotations "de la Bible, Indices, Psaultiers, & Nouveaux Testamens, & "autres livres par luy imprimez, ne soit ou puisse estre a pre-"sent ne pour l'advenir travaille, vexe, ne moleste en quelque "maniere, ne convenu par quelques juges que ce soit." &c.

cellaneous impressions of the year. *Hebraicarum Institutionum libri IV. Pagnino auctore,* 4to; *Hebraica & Chaldaica nomina quæ in Bibliis leguntur,* 4to; *Dictionnaire François-Latin,* fol.; *Bayfius de re navali, vestiaria, & de vasculis. Thyles de coloribus,* 4to, with engravings in wood; *G. Merula de gestis ducum Mediolanensium, sive de antiquitate vicecomitum, &c.* 4to; *P. Jovii vitæ XII. Vicecomitum Mediolani principum,* 4to, *cum iconibus; Clenardi Institutiones Græcæ,* 4to; *Ciceronis Officia, Cato major, Lælius, Paradoxa, Somnium Scipionis,* 8vo; *Horatii poemata, scholiis & argumentis ab H. Stephano illustrata,* 8vo; *Juvenalis & Persii Satyræ adnotatiunculis illustratæ,* 8vo; *Virgilii Opera,* 8vo, or 12mo. But his most interesting impression of this year is *Novum Testamentum, Græce, ex Bibliotheca Regia, Off. R. Steph. IV. Id. Octobr.* 16mo. This is the latter of those admired editions known by the epithet "O mirificam," (*ante,* 1546.)

The preface, form, and appearance of this Nov. Test. Gr. are altogether conformable with those of the former one: and to which of them the preference is due, it seems not easy to determine. Chevillier, with some other of the earlier bibliographers, has preferred this edition of 1549; but the more minute examination of Le Long seems to have transferred the palm to that of 1546.

What recent inquirers tell us of the variations between them, I shall briefly state. Mill discovered an exact conformity between the "O miri- "ficam" of 1546, and this of 1549, with the exception of sixty-seven different readings; of which he considered four as of dubious authority; and of the rest, twenty-six as genuine, and the other thirty-seven not so: so that the first has eleven genuine readings more than the second. The first impression has a list of twelve errors of the press, which are corrected in the second: but in this latter, we are told, that at least fourteen errors have been detected. M. le Long terms the "O mirifi- "cam" of 1546, "editio nitidissima & correctissi- "ma." Colomesius and others formerly supposed that the edition of 1549, did not contain a single error of the press: but in the preface of that edition we find almost at the commencement, "pulres" for "plures."

In the beginning of December 1549, Robert had an interview with Conradus Pellicanus, who was engaged in selecting commentaries on the sacred books from the rabbinical writings. This labour, highly interesting in Robert's opinion, he did not fail to promote by his encouragement and exhortations: and Pellicanus afterwards transmitted to him, at Geneva, his Latin version of several of the rabbinical interpreters, that he might give them to the public.

Maittaire, from the testimony of Pellicanus, believes that Robert, about this period, visited Zurich; and from thence, as he was returning to Paris, came to Geneva: probably with a view to relieve the fatigue of his journey, by the conversation of the learned of that city: or perhaps, apprehensive that he should be ultimately obliged to quit his native country, he was desirous of making some provisional arrangements for his future settlement there.

1550. I find another edition, bearing this date, of his *Alphabetum Græcum*, 8vo. This year also witnessed the publication of another of his most magnificent impressions: I mean the Greek original of the New Testament in the largest size and type: upon which his typographical institution had for some time been sedulously employed. *Novum Testamentum, Græce, ex Bibliotheca Regia, Regiis typis*, 1550, fol. Prefixed to the first part of this volume, we find Robert's own "Præfatio Græce & Latine scripta;" an extensive "Præmonitio de Evangelio," Græce, by St. Chrysostom; the "Canones Eusebii," Græce, ornamentally exhibited; two copious Greek "Tabulæ," one of numerous passages of the Old Testament cited in the New, in the words of the original; the other, of similar passages, in which the sense is evidently quoted, though not in the precise words.

Next follows an extensive copy of Greek hexameters, composed by Henry Estienne, the eldest son of Robert, who at this time must barely have completed the twenty-first year of his age. To the several Gospels are prefixed various biographical notices of their respective writers: to the Acts, some accounts of the travels and ministry of St. Paul, with a Greek summary of the contents of that book. The second part commences with a new title: after which occurs an introduction, by St. Chrysostom, to all the Epistles of St. Paul, and his argument of that to the Romans: and similar arguments and introductions from various ecclesiastical writers, are in like manner prefixed to the other epistles. The exterior margins of every page have references to parallel passages: and the interior exhibit various readings, and those Greek numeral letters, which are intended to denote the particular MSS. which had been collated for this, and the two former editions in 16mo.

Robert professes to give in the margin[f] of this

[f] "In margine interiori varias codicum lectiones addidimus: "quarum unicuique, numeri Græci nota subjuncta est, quæ "nomen exemplaris, unde sumpta est, indicet: aut exempla- "rium nomina, quum plures sunt numeri. Iis nanque, pla- "cuit, primo, secundo, ad sextumdecimum usque, nomina "imponere: ut primo, Complutensem editionem intelligas, "quæ olim ad antiquissima exemplaria fuit excusa: cui certe "cum nostris mirus erat in plurimis consensus. Secundo, "exemplar vetustissimum, in Italia ab amicis collatum. Ter-

splendid book select various readings (for so, I conceive, his words imply) of sixteen MSS. of which however, the printed Complutensian was to be reckoned as one. As to the text, Mill discovers two hundred and eighty-four variations at least, from both the editions "minori forma," before noticed: of which he considers seventy-one as genuine: seven as being derived from MSS. and the edition of Colinæus: twenty-five from the Complutensian, and thirty-nine from the editio Frobeniana. He thinks Robert has injudiciously deviated from his own former editions; in three places, in deference to the edition of Colinæus; in twenty-two places, in deference to MSS.; in six, in deference to the Complutensian; and in sixty, to the editio Frobeniana: that Robert has here shewn an increased respect for the Complutensian, by admitting thirty-one of its readings before rejected: twenty-seven of which are unsupported by the testimony of any other printed copies then extant. Neither does Mill find his respect for the "quinta Frobeniana" by any means diminished, as it now leads him also to vary in ninety-nine places from the preceding editions. Mill computes that this impression *anni* 1550, has twenty

"tio, quarto, quinto, sexto, septimo, octavo, decimo, & quinto "decimo, ea quæ ex bibliotheca regia habuimus. Cætera "sunt ea quæ undique corrogare licuit." *R. Steph. in Præfat.*

unsatisfactory readings more than either of the others: the occasion of which he attributes to his too great reverence for the "editio Frobeniana."

It is well known that Mr. Gibbon, considering the verse of the three heavenly witnesses, 1 John v. 7, as an interpolation, affirms it "to have "been established in our Greek Testaments by "the prudence of Erasmus, the honest bigotry of "the Complutensian editors, the typographical "fraud or error of Robert Stephens in the placing "of a crotchet," (in this edition of 1550,) &c. This charge of fraud, however indecisively and cautiously alleged, requires some examination; especially as Mr. Porson[g], "though unwilling to at- "tribute to fraud what he can with any reason- "able pretence attribute to error," yet adds: "if "any person be more suspicious than I am, he "needs not be frightened from his opinion by Mr. "Travis's declamation;" meaning of course the arguments he had urged against such a charge of wilful fraud and dishonesty.

I have carefully perused Mr. Porson's fourth letter to Archdeacon Travis: and from the whole infer that the learned professor's ultimate conclusion was the venial one. Yet, that letter contains many severe reflections upon Robert Estienne; which a more exact inquiry into Robert's

[g] Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis; London, 1790. 8vo.

history would probably have induced our great modern critic to forbear: and speaks of motives for falsification of the passage on his part, which I consider not only very fanciful, but totally groundless and improbable.

Thus (page 55,) Mr. Porson says: "when it is "considered how Erasmus was worried for speak- "ing his mind too freely, and with what jealousy "Robert Stephens was watched by the Paris di- "vines, it cannot appear incredible that Stephens "might make this seeming mistake on purpose: so "far like Zacagni, (see Letter II. p. 32,) honest "in his fraud, that he furnishes every inquisitive "reader with the means of detection."

This will be understood by referring to the story which, after De Missy, Mr. Porson had related concerning Zacagni, Letter II. p. 32. Divested of superfluities, it is this. *Anno* 1698, Zacagni, an Italian, published a collation of a Greek MS. which with all the others (says Mr. P.,) omits the text of the three heavenly witnesses. Zacagni mentions this circumstance, but thinking it necessary to seem to produce some authority in behalf of the received reading, (or as Mr. P. terms it, the common interpolation,) boldly says, that the seventh verse is extant in our Alexandrian.

Those who are more inclined to acquiesce in an ingenious illustration, than to be fastidious about its propriety and justice, may rest satisfied with

this. But can it, we may answer, be seriously and reasonably supposed, that Robert Estienne would thus deliberately falsify his reference, to bespeak the favour of the Parisian divines; who, as a deliberative body, evinced themselves so ignorant of Greek, as to mistake (as will hereafter be more fully shewn) Robert's marginal references for heretical annotations [h]; and whose ignorance he was fully aware of?

Let the impartial reader consider what Robert has incidentally recorded in his *Responsio ad Censuras*, p. 35, seq. "This work (his N. T. "Gr. of 1550, fol.) I carry to Castellanus, (Du "Chastel.) He sharply reproves me for not hav- "ing submitted it to the examination of the di- "vines; and accuses me of contumacy. I defend "myself by observing that the senior judges of "this body knew little or nothing of the Greek "language; and that the sacred book of life could "not be suspected of heresy; mentioning also as "an additional motive for declining such a mea- "sure, that some of them had required from me "an alteration of that passage, 1 Cor. xv. 51. "'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be

[h] I content myself at present with referring to Robert's *Responsio, &c.* p. 39, line 8. *ab imo, & seqq.* intending to cite the proof more particularly, before I finish my account of the reception of Robert's Greek Testament in question by the faculty of divines.

" changed.' Here Du Chastel again blames me " because I had not complied: pretending that the " question was merely about a various reading: " but I declare to him, that no consideration could " ever induce me to change any thing contrary to " the faith of all the MSS. and thus to be found " a falsifier [i]."

When Mr. Porson was writing the P.S. to his fourth letter, he appears to have had his notice attracted to Robert's " Biblia Latina" of 1545, an account of which has been given in its place: and if Mr. P.'s maxim had not then been " quod scripsi, " scripsi," the testimony which that Bible furnishes, would have suggested a more honourable

[i] " Absolutum opus D. Castellano defero. Is quod theo- " logis non ostendissem examinandum acriter objurgat & su- " perbum clamat. Defendo, cum quòd in ea lingua nihil " aut parum nossent seniores horum judices; tum quòd he- " reseos suspectus esse non poterat sacrosanctus ille vitæ liber. " Addo, me quoque fuisse absterritum, quòd ex illis quidam " consuluissent ut mutarem locum, 1 Cor. xv. 51. 'Non om- " nes quidem dormiemus, omnes tamen immutabimur.' Rur- " sum objurgat quod non obtemperassem: variam esse lectio- " nem dicens. Nego me posse adduci ut unquam contra " fidem omnium codicum quicquam mutarem, atque ita falsa- " rius deprehenderer." *Resp.* pp. 35, 36.

The Vulgate reading of the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 51, is " Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur." Other Latin readings, vide ap. Poli Synopsin. As to the Greek, Rosenmuller says: " ingens lectionis varietas." See also Griesbach, who adopts the common reading.

estimate of Robert's general probity and independence of mind. The following are Mr. Porson's words. P.S. p. 98. "I will be charitable "enough to direct him (archd. Travis) to R. Ste- "phens's Latin edition of 1545; but I expect his "thanks for the information. In that edition "Robert has printed two versions, which he calls "the old and the new: the old is the received "Vulgate, the new is a translation from the "Greek, made by Robert, or by some learned "man under his inspection. The old, as might "be expected, retains 1 John v. 7: the new dis- "misses it from the text with ignominy, but puts "a star after 'testimonium dant,' and adds in the "margin, 'Pater, Verbum, & Spiritus sanctus, & "hi tres unum sunt. Et tres sunt qui testimoni- "um dant in terra: Spiritus,' &c. . . . 'sic legunt "quædam exemplaria Græca.'"

Here we find Mr. Porson ascribing to R. Steph. himself, or to some scholar who acted under his superintendence, a new Latin version, and yet attributing to him the hardihood of dismissing the controverted text from his new version with ignominy. Let us consider how this can promote Mr. Porson's argument; or how it accords with his time-serving imputations before noticed, and more especially with another passage of his in this very same letter, p. 59. "Let us be no more pestered "with the stale common-places of honour, honesty,

" veracity, judgment, diligence, erudition, &c. If " R. Stephens's MSS. all omitted the controverted " passage, he would still retain it in his edition, " because he has the same vicious complaisance " for many other passages, without having equal " seeming authority."

It must however be here observed, that in attributing this new Latin version to Robert, or some private friend of his, Mr. Porson (for who is infallible?) has fallen into an entire mistake. It has been ascertained that this " nova tralatio" is that which is found in the *Biblia Latina*, printed *Tiguri*, (at Zurich,) *anno* 1543, in fol. and thence copied by Robert into his edition. I have made due mention of this *ante*, *sub anno* 1545. It is however sufficient for our present argument, and little corroborative of Mr. Porson's assumptions, that Robert had the courage and impartiality to print such a version made by foreigners.

Equally visionary and disingenuous must the learned professor's insinuation have already appeared, that the dishonesty of Zacagni found its prototype in the imagination of Robert Estienne. But there are also other invidious charges, which being merely hypothetical and declamatory, may perhaps lose what little weight they seem to have, when the greater one of dishonesty has been removed. " Observe," says Mr. Porson, (p. 56.) " in " all this proceeding" (that of not having mention-

ed the name of Henry Estienne as collator of the Greek MSS.) " the craft of a printer and edi- " tor. Robert was aware that by telling his " readers who was the collator, he might infuse " a suspicion into their minds, that the work was " negligently performed. He therefore carefully " avoided mentioning that circumstance." Does a charge so gratuitous and dogmatical as this ask for refutation, or silence merely? Mr. Porson's intuitive perception of the defects of Robert's character becomes so strong as he proceeds, as to dispense with all usual laws and forms of testimony. But there are those, who must pronounce such language mere " verbiage;" totally unworthy of the cultivated mind which conceived, and the powerful pen which recorded it.

" Another instance of this management," says our learned professor, " may be seen in the pre- " face to the first edition of Robert Stephens's *Nov.* " *Test. Gr.* (*anni* 1546, in 18mo); where he says, " 'that he has not suffered a letter to be printed, " but what the greater part of the better MSS., " like so many witnesses, unanimously approved.' " This boast" (adds Mr. Porson) " is indeed utterly " false, as all critics agree, who have taken any " pains in comparing Stephens's editions. They " know that Stephens has not observed this rule " constantly, because his editions often vary from " one another, and his third edition often from all

" his MSS. even by his own confession." Page 57. sqq.

Now an advocate of Robert's may be permitted to ask in reply: Can it then be fairly deduced, from the above cited words of that preface, that he either boasts, or pledges himself to a resolution never to vary at all in any successive edition from the first? Those words cannot surely be so understood. If in the exercise of the δεύτεραι φροντίδες, he was led to think less highly of some of his readings, and to adopt others, whether from MSS. or from printed copies to which he attributed the authority of MSS., ought this to be made a ground of such severe reflections? The readings newly adopted may, in some instances, appear to later critics inferior to the old: yet this will not induce honest judges to think less favourably of the editor's intentions. Upon the whole, it seems strange that an enlightened scholar of our days should thus wantonly have erected the threefold charge of management, boasting, and falsehood, on such evidence.

In the like temper Mr. Porson says, (p. 59.) " In " Matt. chap. ii. v. 11, all the MSS., the Complu- " tensian edition, nay the very MS. from which " Erasmus published his edition, have εἶδον (saw) instead of εὗρον (found); but Erasmus upon the " single authority of a faulty copy of Theophylact, " altered it to εὗρον. Stephens, in his third edition,

" fol. followed Erasmus, and εὗρον infects our print-
" ed Testaments to this day. I can only excuse
" Stephens by the universal custom of dealers, who
" think it an innocent deceit to cry up the value
" of their wares."

Such is the mode of argument, which Mr. Porson has adopted in this fourth chapter of his celebrated work. Such are the illiberal and frivolous pretences, upon which he has attempted to fix an indelible stain on the personal and professional character of Robert Estienne; thinking it would seem, in his day, that dead reputations are fair subjects of the most wanton insult, because, as the proverb says, " Mortui non dolent."

Τοὺς γὰρ θανόντας οὐχ ὁρῶ λυπουμένους.

Whatever the real merits or defects of this edition *Nov. Test. Gr. anni* 1550, may be, when Robert's circumstances during much of the time of its preparation and execution are considered; his distractions and anxieties; the hazard to which his liberty and life were exposed; the necessity he mentions, either of repeatedly concealing himself, or of attending, during long intervals, the movements of the court; besides that journey to Zurich and Geneva, which has been already mentioned: it cannot seem very improbable, that this magnificent specimen of his press really benefitted less than almost any other, by the supervision of

Robert himself, and was in a great measure left to the correctors and assistants employed in his office.

I shall here notice several of Robert's minor impressions of the year 1550. They were *Alphabetum Græcum regiis trium generum characteribus postremo excusum*, 8vo; *Manutii scholia in epistolas familiares Ciceronis*, 8vo; *Dictionarium puerorum*, 4to.

I have mentioned that Robert presented his *Nov. Test. Gr.* fol. on its completion, to Du Chastel: the rebuke he received for not having made the change in the passage, 1 Cor. xv. 51, and our printer's defence; which proved so little satisfactory to the prelate, that Robert now suspected him of insincerity even in his past professions of good will; and believed that at this time, in the prospect of a cardinal's hat, he was courting the favour of the divines, with whom however he was by no means a favourite. Howsoever that might be, the bishop now divested himself of all moderation towards Robert; and informed the faculty that his former protection of him had been the effect of misconception: he had been deceived in the man, and now abandoned him: that it was their province to consider what measures ought to be adopted, in consequence of this impression of the New Testament.

Pierre Galland is sent on this message to the Sorbonne. He reveals to Robert the secret of his commission, and privately advises him to try the effect of a personal interview with the divines. Robert accedes to this advice, and after a month's delay is admitted to their presence in full conclave. Two of the most illiterate of their number preside at the sitting. He presents his late impression of the New Testament. They perceive, says Robert, that the work is Greek [k], and already printed; and observe, that it is now too late to ask their advice or sanction. They demand however, that the original copy or MS. shall be laid before them. Robert answers that it was impossible; that the original was not one MS. merely, but fifteen; which had been already carried back to the royal library, whence he had been indulged with the use of them: that after they had with the greatest diligence been collated, he had printed this edition with the fidelity which he owed both to his prince and to the public: that the task of

k "Vident Græca esse, eaque impressa: consilio nullum "superesse locum aiunt. Postulant afferri vetus exemplar, "scilicet in quo legerent. Respondeo non posse fieri, quòd "non unum esset, sed quindecim, relata in Bibliothecam Re- "giam, quæ mihi precario data fuerant; quibus diligentissime "collatis pro meo cum erga principem, tum vero erga remp. "officio, istud impressissem, molestissimum illis futurum, si "ea essent conferenda: me tanta molestia eos levasse." *Resp.* p. 37.

comparing the volume with those MSS. would prove to them a most troublesome one; but in reality he had relieved them from such a labour.

Robert states, that he was then ordered to withdraw, but was speedily recalled. He is ashamed not only to mention, but even to recollect the frivolousness of their conduct. But after several repetitions of these contradictory mandates, the divines agree to refer the perusal and examination of the book to two of their members, who have the reputation of being acquainted with the Greek language.

After another month's tedious delay and solicitation, Robert prevails upon the deputies to make their report before a new chapter of the divines. The dean of the faculty, in a prolix oration, recapitulates the occasions of dissatisfaction which have been already given them by this typographer. He moves, that the faculty should refuse their sanction to any impression of his: asserting that such a sanction would be incompatible with the dignity of that learned body. It would be to recommend a person who stood condemned by their censures, and a virtual acknowledgment that their former proceedings were unjustifiable. This impression of the New Testament must by no means be sanctioned, since it had been made public without the approbation of the faculty.

Another loquacious member seconds this motion. Robert styles him the King's confessor; and insinuates that at a former period he had been considered as a favourer of the new opinions: but by his vehemency on this occasion sought to wipe off the blot upon his previous character. Those few who made a timid effort to defend our printer, were overborne by the clamours of the rest, and compelled to silence, through the fear "of expul-" sion from the synagogue."

The sheep, says Robert, awaits the coming forth of the wolves. They salute him with the betrayer's hypocrisy. He inquires the result of their deliberations, but obtains no answer. He then addresses himself, in respectful terms, to the dean[1] of the faculty, entreating to be acquainted what report he may be allowed to carry to the king. By him, in a tone of affected mildness, he is informed, that the divines cannot permit that his New Testament shall be exposed to sale. Robert requests to know the reason. He is answered, "that it is on account of the Marginal Annota-

[1] "Rogo Decanum, Heus tu domine, quid tandem? quid "regi referam? Blanda ille voce respondet, Domini non "sunt in ea opinione ut Novum istud Testamentum vendatur. "Quamobrem? rogo. Propter annotationes marginales, ait. "Varias lectiones (docti Græce homines!) judicabant esse an-"notationes quasdam quæ extra textum additæ essent." *Respons.* &c. p. 39.

" tions."—Sagacious critics! he exclaims: they supposed that the various readings in the margin were certain annotations added to the text!

Robert now solicits to have their sentence or resolutions given to him in writing, that he may exhibit them to the king; which they refuse. The next day he proceeds to the court; and agreeably to the usual ceremonial, presents a copy of his splendid *Novum Testamentum Gr.* to the king, in the presence of the cardinals and the principal state officers. Du Chastel, with moderation which Robert now thinks affected, laments the persecution which he experiences from the Sorbonne, and the consequent thoughts entertained by him of emigrating from his native country. Robert recapitulates to him several of the 'censuræ' of the divines, which most glaringly demonstrate their ignorance and incapacity. When Du Chastel had announced before the royal presence, the final decision of the faculty with regard to this sacred work, the report was received by all present with loud laughter, and exclamations of mingled ridicule and indignation [m].

Robert, on his return from court, fearlessly exposes his new impression of the Greek Testament to sale. The divines are astonished that a private

[m] " Mirus risus subortus: una vox omnium, impudentiam, " inscitiam, temeritatem, ineptias denique horum jam non " esse tolerabiles." *Resp.* &c. p. 40.

individual, and he a mere typographer, should thus presume to act in defiance of a Decretum Theologicum. The printer, feeling himself for the present superior to their malevolence, that he may not irritate them still further by overstrained contempt, promises to undertake thenceforward no impression without previous consultation with them: "quicquid posthac impressurus essem, me "illis communicaturum recepi."

CHAPTER XIV.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—FURTHER GREEK AND OTHER IMPRESSIONS—N. TESTAMENTUM GR. OF 1551, 12MO.—PREPARATIONS FOR QUITTING PARIS—PIERRE LYSET—BEZA'S BENEDICTI PASSAVANTII EPISTOLA MACARONICA—ABSURD CHARGE OF MICHAELIS.

WE have now attended Robert Estienne through his various and often renewed contests with the theologians of the Sorbonne, as far as the termination of that which was excited by his celebrated impression *N. Testamenti, Græce, anni* 1550, in fol. This, he has himself denominated, "the last act "of the drama." Though we have seen him extricate himself from the perils of so arduous a conflict with apparent triumph, yet he was too discreet to make an ostentatious display of this triumph, and too wary to suffer himself to be deluded by it into a pernicious security. Experience shewed him that his adversaries were inveterate and irreconcileable; powerful in numbers and in influence; ever vigilant to avail themselves of any pretext for renewing their persecutions;

and animated with the confidence of ultimate success. Robert stood, in a great measure, unbefriended and alone; for on the protection of the monarch, who had already evinced himself so vacillating and irresolute, he could reasonably place no permanent reliance; and from the prelates and courtiers, who were about the king's person, no more at best could be hoped for, than was compatible with their own respective interests and views. By the hostile party, the charge of absolute heresy, than which none could then be more formidable, was clamourously denounced against him; whilst even the few, who were most moderately and friendly disposed, could not acquit our typographer of a strong though secret bias towards the new opinions. These things Robert perceived and felt; and therefore in silent determination now meditated a retreat from such a scene of turbulence and peril. The productions of his press, which we shall next enumerate, were probably for the most part those which he already had in hand, and which were at this juncture passing through his press. To finish off impressions which had been thus commenced, was a preliminary manifestly requisite for the convenience of his meditated future proceedings.

1551. *Justini Philosophi & Martyris Opera, Græce, ex Bibliotheca Regia. Officina R. Steph.*

regiis typis, fol. This fine impression was the first fruit of Robert's press this year. Chevillier, in his eulogy of the Greek impressions of the Estiennes, considers it as one of the most magnificent of them. He observes, that the meritorious printers of that family bore away the palm, not only from the other typographers of Paris, but also from the most skilful of those who appeared in other countries; whether we contemplate the superlative beauty of the characters which they used, the excellence of the paper, or the correctness of the impressions. "Robert" (he says) "raised the art to the summit of perfection. His "*Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, & Evagrius, anni* 1544; his *Nov. Testamentum,* 16mo, "*variis annis,* and fol. 1550; and his *Justin* "*Martyr,* fol. 1551, are indeed finished specimens "of typography."

Rudimenta fidei Christianæ, Græce, nunc primum in lucem edita, ap. R. Steph. 12mo. Maittaire (*Vit. Steph.*) considers this as Robert's last impression *anni* 1551. He says it is Calvin's Catechism, translated into Greek by our printer's son Henry, but without mention of place, author, or translator, excepting that in the prefatory epistle the reader is exhorted "ei qui composuit, "ac sibi qui excudit, gratias agere." Maittaire assigns to it the date of Dec. 15; and from this, and other circumstances, infers that Robert re-

tained his title of "Typographus Regius," and continued his establishment at Paris until 1551, *prid. Cal. Dec.*

In his *Annales Typographici*, Maittaire does not place this impression last in the series of the year. I shall cite his description of it from that work also. After the title given as above, he says it has a Greek subscription at the end; an "Epistola Græca Typographi," prefixed; and some Greek iambics. "In fine, Christianæ aliquot preces, Græce, cum Psalmo 89°, & oratione Domi-nica in Græcam Poesin versis." He adds, that the names both of the author and of the translator are suppressed. In the preface this remark is found: "He who peruses this work as he ought, "will feel great obligation as well to the compiler, "whosoever he was, as to the printer." Maittaire also believes that this impression, and that which I shall next mention, were withheld by Robert, and not suffered to go before the public, till he had removed to Geneva. (*Annales, sub eod. anno.*)

Novum Testamentum, Græce, cum duplici interpretatione Erasmi & veteris Interpretis, Harmonia Evangelica & copioso Indice, 12mo. This volume is in a square form, and of a size somewhat larger than the "O mirificam." The title has "Ex officina R. Stephani," only. It is without notice of place. Bibliographers have pronounced it the rarest of all Robert's impressions of the

Greek Testament. In beauty of typography it is inferior to none. Le Long says it was printed at Geneva; (an assertion which rests on dubious authority;) and that copies are found in which the year of impression is marked XLI. for LI. but in some of them the numeral X. appears to have been erased. He "is at a loss to account for this." But perhaps, these appearances may be sufficiently explained, by the supposition that Robert printed this book clandestinely at Paris. For such an edition he could never hope to obtain the license of the university. Concerning the Greek text of it, Mill says it corresponds in all respects with that of 1550, excepting the change of a single letter, Matth. ch. xxiv. and Marc. ch. xiii. where ἑστὸς is changed into ἑστὼς, agreeably to Robert's earliest impression. An important peculiarity of this edition is, that the text for the first time appeared in it divided into those τμήματα or "versi-" culi," which are still in use at the present day [a].

On the subject of this impression, Chevillier also speaks at some length. He says, "In 1551, " Robert Estienne reprinted the *Nov. Test. Gr.* in " two volumes, (or parts,) placing the Greek text " between the vulgate Latin, and the version of

[a] " In hac editione palmarium est, quod in ea jam omnium " prima, textus distinctus sit in tmemata ea seu versiculos, " quibus hodie utimur." *Mill. Proleg. in N. Test. Vide etiam ante, sub anno* 1548.

" Erasmus, and affixing a number or cipher to every " verse." He followed the same plan in his impression of the Old Test. *anni* 1557. These were the earliest impressions of the SS. in which Chevillier had seen " Ces versets distinguez par chif- " fres :" an example soon generally followed ; with this difference however, that in the Bibles and New Testaments of R. Estienne, and those of the ministers of Geneva and Basil, all these " versets" begin a new line : a form which is not observed in the Bibles of Sixtus V, and Clement VII, excepting in the book of Job, the Psalms, and Proverbs. The protestants (he adds) generally follow the method of R. Estienne ; and some of the catholics also, in their editions : but the greater number of the latter copy in every thing the Bible of Clement VIII. Chevillier here takes occasion to mention that, in 1652, Antoine Vitré, by order of the clergy of France, reprinted the fine Bible of Clement VIII, in 8 vols. 12mo ; which is one of the most exquisite specimens of the typographic art produced in that age. He also adheres to the plan of R. Stephanus : as did Francis Coustelier, in his Bible, Par. 1660, and other French printers. We see then, continues Chevillier, that from Robert's time, the Holy Bible has been usually printed with Arabic ciphers, to distinguish the verses : but Jacques Fabry d'Estaples (thus he denominates Faber Stapulensis) had already introduced

them into his "Psalterium Quincuplex," printed *annis* 1509, & 1513, by Henry, the father of Robert Estienne; and Richard du Mans, a Franciscan of Paris, had edited the Psalter in like manner, with the Commentary of P. Lombard, Par. 1541, ap. Poncet le Preux. fol. Chevillier has no doubt that Robert had taken the idea from these impressions; but adds that Faber Stapulensis caused the first letter of every verse in his Psalter to be printed "en rouge;" a plan which was followed by Genebrard in his "Psalterium," 8vo. Par. 1581. But this singularity R. Estienne did not think it proper to adopt.

Terentius, 8vo. Maittaire (*Vit. R. Steph.*) affirms that this impression of Terence, which is in the Italic character, has the "regii typographi no-"men appositum." *Sententiæ veterum Poetarum per G. Majorem in locos communes digestæ. Antonii Mancinelli de Poetica virtute libellus. Index sententiarum, &c.* 8vo. *Commentarius puerorum de quotidiano sermone, Maturino Corderio authore;* in titulo 1550, ad calcem 1551. *pr. cal. Dec.* 8vo. *Excudebat R. Steph. Typogr. regius.* I shall here observe that Maturin Cordier, author of the "Colloquia" so generally used in our Grammar schools to a late period of the last century, was a schoolmaster of Paris, and taught the rudiments of the Latin tongue in several of the colleges there: but afterwards having attached

himself to the opinions of the reformed, withdrew to Geneva, where he continued his former occupation. In a preface to his "Colloquia" which I have seen, he mentions with exultation the distinguished pupils (celeberrimi viri) whom he had trained in France; and in particular, John Calvin: "unus potissimum in præsentia mihi oc-" currit, ex iis quos Parisiis docui, præstantissi-" mus ille vir Joannes Calvinus quem honoris " causa nomino."

Dionis Nicæi Rerum Romanarum Epitome, Græce, authore Joan. Xiphilino; ex Bibl. regia, ac Off. R. Steph. Typogr. regii, regiis typis, 4to. *Eadem Latine, Gulielmo Blanco Albiensi interprete,* 4to. Maittaire is uncertain in what month of 1551 the Epitome of Dion was finished. To the Greek of Xiphilinus Robert affixed the "Symbolum regium;" but to the Latin translation his own mark only, without the title of "Ty-" pographus regius." He is in doubt, which of the impressions above enumerated was the last to exhibit these honours. In the "Annales," he attributes this singularity to the Corderius; but "in " vita Roberti," to the "Epitome Dionis, Græce."

The termination then of the year 1551, or rather the commencement of 1552, may doubtless be assumed as the epoch of Robert Estienne's removal to Geneva. On this occasion, no reasonable

perplexity can arise from the date of a few impressions, which even so late as the years 1556, or 1557, bear the impress "Lutetiæ," with the name "Roberti Stephani," either alone or in conjunction with that of "Gulielmus Morellus;" which are evidently to be referred to Robert, the son of Robert Estienne. What Maittaire conjectures on this subject, (*Vita R. Steph.* p. 76,) is rendered certain by his "Annales," (*sub iisdem annis.*) But he satisfactorily argues, that Robert could not long be resident at Paris after the commencement of the year 1552, from his prefatory epistle to the Psalms with Bucer's explanations, ("ex epist. "Psalmis a Bucero enarratis præfixa.") That epistle is dated *Genevæ non. Maii*, 1554; and Robert affirms therein that he had from that period resided three years at Geneva: "se tribus ab eo "tempore annis" (including the current year) "in "eam ecclesiam commigrasse."

This fact, which Robert's posterior impressions place beyond a doubt, might be very probably inferred from his "Responsio ad censuras Theolo- "gorum Parisiensium," which bears the date of 1552. In that work he alludes to his removal from Paris [b], as a circumstance very speedily con-

[b] "Ne contemptu eos exasperarem, quicquid posthac im- "pressurus essem me illis communicaturum recepi: qua "pactione, vel potius necessitate mihi imposita, irretitum me "tenentes, cœperunt nihil sibi a me timere. Ego vero ab

sequent upon his dispute with those divines, which we have last mentioned. He had engaged to print, or at least to publish nothing, without conferring with them: by which engagement he found his own liberty completely shackled. Whilst they exulted in this compact as a victory, he derived little additional security from it. Their implacable hatred was nothing diminished. Feeling that his life was in constant jeopardy from their malice, he says he was compelled to seek a place of greater security. His attachment also to the reformed opinions, strengthened and confirmed by persecution, excited an earnest desire to pass the remnant of his life in a situation, where liberty of conscience would not be restricted.

The testimony of the celebrated French historian Thuanus, which Maittaire has been careful to cite in the original, is highly honourable to our typographer, and an imperishable record of the

" illis nihilo securior: ut qui scirem implacabili in me odio " ardentes, avide meo sanguini inhiare, in locum tutiorem me " recipere coactus sum, unde præstarem quod fueram pollici- " tus. Quis enim coram tam immanibus belluis consistere " audeat, si Christi nomen profiteri velit? En postremus fa- " bulæ actus, Christiane lector. Pauca ex innumeris attigi. " Nam dictu nimis est difficile, quam sæpe & mirabiliter me " Dominus ex eorum laqueis eripuerit. Et ipsa narratio, si " verbis eam possem exequi, prope incredibilis foret. Ergo " ne Deo sim ingratus, quid superest, nisi ut calicem salutis " accipiam, ejusque nomen invocem?" *Respons. ad Cens.* p. 41.

fury and blind fanaticism of his persecutors. The tenor of it I subjoin, as follows: "After the de- "cease of Francis I, Robert Estienne, a man who "conferred high obligations on his native coun- "try, by the impression of numerous books in the "Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, experienced "from the college of our divines a most ungrate- "ful return. This excellent artist, whose views "were truly patriotic, and who constantly ex- "pressed his readiness to acquiesce in any reason- "able conditions, they ceased not to harass, till "wearied out by their unjust persecutions, he re- "gulated his measures by necessity, and retired "to the remote city of Geneva; where he ma- "naged both his public and private concern with "such prudence, that though struggling with ad- "verse circumstances, which are inseparable from "migration, he persevered to the last day of his "existence in the exercise of his vocation: and "never abandoned the praiseworthy object of ad- "vancing and benefitting real learning."

Notwithstanding the assertion of Scævola Sammarthanus that Robert's exile was not the effect of necessity but of choice, it cannot but appear otherwise from the foregoing narrative. Self-preservation, the strongest of all human motives, was evidently the primary occasion of this measure. Though the more liberal part of the French court, and the king himself, had generally evinced them-

selves favourable to his cause, yet our typographer had seen sufficient of the irresolution of the one, and the intrigues of the other, not to place any absolute confidence in them [c]. Such then were Robert's most powerful inducements to desert his native city. He admits also, that other reasons of a secondary nature conspired with them, to confirm him in this resolution. These were, the constant and enormous expense of attending the court, in order to counteract the measures of his adversaries; the great interruption which this occasioned to his literary enterprises; and the inquisitorial right of censure to which he had promised subjection: which was henceforth to deprive him of the exercise of his own judgment, in the selection of works for the employment of his press; and would consequently counteract all his plans for the advancement of rational religion, and useful learning [d].

[c] Robert had indeed become too much of a courtier, to express his doubts of the king's firmness openly. "De regis "quidem præsidio cur diffiderem, causa non fuit. Sed quia "mihi certamen erat cum tam virulentis belluis, nihil censui "esse melius, quam obstinatæ malitiæ cedere. Impune enim "illudere regi poterant, ejusque imperia contemnere, impune "falsis & putidis delationibus imbuere principum aures, im-"pune quidvis per fas & nefas in me machinari. Nec mo-"dus ullus fuisset. Nam quo magis ratione fracti sunt, tan-"quam hydra antiqua, resumptis septem pro uno capitibus, "proterviores redduntur ad nocendum." *Respons.* p. 41.

[d] "Quanquam alia quoque cedendi fuit necessitas: præter-

In the usual course of warfare, a disposition to retreat on the one side, generally excites additional courage in the breasts of the adverse party, and rouses them to new efforts of hostility. We may presume then, that to effect the security of Robert's person and property required no common measures of secrecy and address. To the court he had indeed more than once signified his purpose of emigrating; unless the restless machinations of his enemies were repressed by the king's protection. But this hint seems rather to have been intended to stimulate their efforts in his favour, by the fear of losing his public services, (of the value of which he was fully sensible,) than to have emanated from any settled determination. But when his resolution was formed, it became necessary to temporize, for the sake of eluding the vigilance of his adversaries: and to this we may probably attribute Robert's promise to submit in future to the authority of the faculty, and place his press

" quam enim quod mihi graves in aula sequenda faciendi " erant sumptus, & deserenda rei literariæ cura, hoc tamen " effugere non licebat, quin postea eorum censuræ subjaceret " quicquid imprimerem. Quid autem imprimere passi fu- " issent? nisi forte mihi sumpsissem Summulas Mandreston, " logicam Enzinas, Angesti Moralia, physicam Majoris, Bre- " viarium & Missale. Ita & sacris literis & ingenuis periisset " mea opera, quam utrisque hactenus impendere conatus " sum, et in reliquum vitæ tempus firmo animi proposito di- " cavi." *Resp.* p. 42.

entirely under their censorial restrictions. The divines of Paris were thus amused by a pretended submission, till Robert had effected his escape. If we may credit an account, which rests not merely on a single testimony, the fanatical bigots of the Sorbonne were so much enraged at the unexpected flight of their intended victim, that they vented their impotent malice by burning him in effigy! Maittaire expresses some doubts of the truth of this circumstance; but they are not supported by satisfactory reasons. Indeed, as if himself questioning the validity of them, he cites in a note the testimony of Romualdus [e], in confirmation of the fact. Beza in his eulogy on Robertus Stephanus, adds a strong attestation to the truth of it [f]: and what he gravely there asserts, after the decease of our typographer, he jocosely relates at an earlier period more at large, in his pretended "Benedicti "Passavantii epistola," addressed to PIERRE LYSET, the former president of the parliament of Paris, but then abbot of "S. Victor prope muros." This letter, written in the style of the celebrated "Epistolæ obscurorum virorum," asserts in ludi-

[e] "Robert Estienne étoit Hérétique, & pour cela brulé en "effigie à Paris." *Romualdus in Thesauro Chronologico, anno* 1559.

[f] "Nemo igitur tibi suscepta cum Matæologis certamina, "nemo stramineum illud simulachrum exprobret, in quod illi "qui Te vivum ustulare non potuerunt, omnem suam rabiem "effuderunt." *Beza in elogiis.*

crous terms both the surprise of the divines at Robert's unexpected disappearance, and the mock execution, and the disappointment of his most sanguinary enemies: who vainly hoped not only to have sacrificed his person, but also to have enriched themselves by the confiscation of his effects. Though the testimony which we are now adducing, is merely that of a satirical pasquinade, yet it seems to allude to circumstances notorious at the time; and must confessedly have lost much of its point and sting, if it was founded on mere fiction[g]. "Would you believe it? I have seen that "arch-heretic, Robert, who so dexterously gave us "the slip. In reality, sir, you were right in saying 'look well to it, or he will escape.' The "now defunct Jean Andrè, who hoped to have

[g] "Et vos nescitis, ego vidi illum maledictum hereticum "Robertum, qui nobis est tam bene elapsus. Per diem (sic- "ut dixit David) vos bene dicebatis 'Cavete bene, ipse eva- "det vobis:' & defunctus Joannes Andreas, qui sperabat ma- "ritare filias suas de bonis ipsius, ut erat zelotissimus fidei "catholicæ, bene etiam clamabat semper quod fugeret. Sed "oculi nostri tenebantur, et alii vastaverunt totum, qui facie- "bant de nimium sapientibus. Et quia ego non sum eum "alloquutus, quia faciebam conscientiam, ego rogavi de uno, "quomodo faceret hîc. Et ipse mihi dixit, quòd nunquam "fuerit magis lætus, & quod faceret mirabilia de impri- "mendo: ita quod nunquam fuit unus qui dederit tot pœnas "matri nostræ universitati quam iste dabit. Et quomodo? "dixi, ipse fuit combustus in figura. Ita, ita, dixit, sed ridet "se de magistris nostris in propria persona, & dicit mille jocu- "laria," &c. *Epp. Obscuror. Viror.* p. 317, Lond. 1710, 12mo.

" portioned his daughters out of this heretic's ef-
" fects, honest and zealous catholic as he was!
" never ceased crying out that he would be gone.
" But our eyes were hoodwinked; and those who
" made a pretence to superior sagacity, spoiled all.
" As I could not in conscience speak to him, I
" inquired of another person, what he was doing.
" The man answered that he was never in better
" spirits; and was performing wonders in the
" printing way: and that none ever gave so much
" uneasiness to the university as he will occasion.
" How so? said I: he has been burnt in effigy.
" Aye, aye, says he; but he laughs at our mas-
" ters, *in propria persona*, and says a thousand
" jocular things about them."

Having here cited from this Macaronic epistle of the pretended Magister Benedict Passavantius, what relates to our printer, I may be permitted to add some further particulars concerning the epistle itself, and the person to whom it is addressed.

PIERRE LYSET, before mentioned as for a time president of the parliament of Paris, was an inveterate persecutor of the reformed. Theodore Beza in his " Historia Ecclesiastica," denominates him the capital enemy of all religion and morality. *Anno* 1550, through the influence of the cardinal of Lorrain, he was deprived of his office; but out of pity, was then nominated abbot of S. Victor. No longer able to burn heretics, as he had before

been very instrumental in doing, he chose now to attack them with his pen. Hence his work in nine tomes, printed *Lutetiæ*, 1551, *ap. Poncet le Preux:* viz. "Adversus Pseudo-Evangelicam Hæ-" resim libri seu commentarii." Beza, finding this piece of ill digested controversy too contemptible for a serious answer, undertook to turn it and its author into ridicule, by the before mentioned epistle. Under the assumed name of Passavant, he pretends to have been deputed by Lyset himself, on a special message to Geneva, to learn what was there said about this formidable work, and to make his report to the author.

M. de Sallengre says, that Beza probably assumed the name "PASSAVANTIUS," because a Jacobin of that name had formerly distinguished himself as a commentator on some of the works of St. Augustine. M. Naudé pronounces this pasquinade of Beza, one of the most exquisite pieces of satire that ever appeared. But even M. Bayle thinks that in composing such a piece, Beza descended too much beneath the dignity and gravity of his character: though he also acknowledges that the contemptible controversial works of the ex-president Lyset, justly exposed him to the severest ridicule:

" Nam si ego digna hac contumelia
" Sum maxime, at tu indignus qui faceres tamen."
Ter. Eun. Act. V. Scen. 2.

M. de Sallengre (*Mém. de Litter. tom. I. p.* 320, *seqq.*) gives a long account, and partial analysis of this "Epistola M. B. Passavantii;" which is supposed to have been written by Beza in the 32d year of his age, and first published at Geneva, *anno* 1552. He does not forget the jest about the style of Lyset's work; which was so rude and harsh, that when pope Julius Modernus, (by whom is supposed to be meant Paul III. or IV,) had ordered some leaves of it to be carried "ad suam la-"trinam," for an obvious purpose; it was found to produce a very disagreeable effect [h]. Henri Estienne thought the joke too good a one to be omitted in his *Apologie pour Herodote*, ch. 17. "Et pour parler en terms non ambigus, &c.... un "President ... composa un certain livre contre les "Lutheriens, lequel il dedia au Pape: mais son "style se trouva si dur, que le Pape en ayant par "cas fortuit porté un fueillet à ses affaires, s'en "escorcha tout le sainct siege Apostolique."

Before I conclude this section of the history of Robert Estienne, it is expedient I should notice a passage found in Michaelis, (Introduction to the New Test. vol. II. part i. p. 323, of the translation of Dr. Marsh, 3rd ed. Lond. 1819.) "Now the "latter" (viz. that Stephens acted not like an ho-

[h] "Decorticavit totam sedem Domini Papæ, quando vole-"bat abstergere," &c.

nest man) " will not appear extraordinary to any " one who knows that he was burnt in effigy for a " breach of honesty," &c.

As the character of Robert has thus been compelled to pass διὰ δυσφημίας, held in abhorrence by catholics, and maligned by protestants, and they scholars too, at whose hands he merited better treatment; we may ask the readers of Michaelis, what breach of honesty is here meant? If it be the purloining of the royal Gr. MSS. of the N. Test.; that charge, though it may have been insinuated, was never entertained by competent inquirers for a single moment [i]. If it be the carrying away the Greek types of the royal institution; that question I propose to consider more particularly in its proper place. At present, to state the mere words of Michaelis is sufficient to expose

[i] I have indeed observed, that Archdeacon Travis imagined he had discovered sufficient reasons, for believing that Robert Estienne not only carried with him the king's manuscripts to Geneva, but that he did so, without compromising his own honour and honesty: and under the condition (expressed or implied) that he should restore them to the royal library when demanded. As I suppose this notion to be peculiar to Mr. Travis; and have neither found any thing in my inquiries into Robert's transactions which leads me to the like conclusion, nor think it established by the arguments which Mr. T. has adduced; I shall content myself with referring the inquisitive reader to his work: viz. *Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq. &c. third edition,* pp. 244. to 262. inclusive.

their folly and absurdity. Had the learned professor told us that Robert was suspended upon a gibbet, or broken on the wheel, in effigy, there might have been an apparent consistency between the alleged crime and its fictitious punishment: but who ever before heard of a fugitive thief's having been burnt in effigy? If such a remark had been made by an inferior writer, it might be passed over in silent contempt: but those who feel they have a character and reputation to support, ought not surely to bring into suspicion their general accuracy, by admitting into their pages such random imputations.

CHAPTER XV.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—CALVIN—RISE, PROGRESS, AND PERSECUTION OF CALVINISM IN FRANCE —ITS ESTABLISHMENT AT GENEVA.

LUTHERANISM had been introduced into France, together with Zuinglianism, by preachers whom Luther and Zuinglius had sent thither; but that particular variety of the sects produced by the reformation, distinguished by the name of CALVINISM, had its origin in France. JEAN CAUVIN or CALVIN was born at Noyon, July 10, 1509. His father Gerard, in early life an artisan of Pont l'Eveque, afterwards became collector of the revenues of the bishop of Noyon: his mother Jeanne Le Franc, is said to have been the daughter of a tavern keeper of Cambray. His father designing him for the ecclesiastical profession, procured for him at the age of twelve years, an appointment in the cathedral of Noyon. At sixteen, he obtained the cure or benefice of Marteville; which he afterwards exchanged for that of Pont l'Eveque. But though seven years a *curé*, we are assured he never received the order of priesthood:

such was the laxity of ecclesiastical discipline which then prevailed, and among other abuses favoured the reformation.

Whilst *curé* of Marteville, Calvin studied humanity at the Collège de la Marche, and philosophy in that of Montaigu. He was instructed in jurisprudence at Orleans, by Pierre de l'Etoile, and afterwards at Bourges, by the celebrated Alciatus. At the last named university Melchior Wolmar, a German, was his preceptor in Greek, and is said to have imbued him with the principles of Lutheranism. Francis I. had given to his sister, the queen of Navarre, the usufruct of Berry, and she it was who filled the university of Bourges with persons of this description; being more inquisitive about their talents than their religious faith. Calvin, we are assured, had never any other instructors in theology, than his relative Robert Olivétan, and the grammarian Wolmar. Convinced by their lessons, he soon displayed his diligence and zeal, by spreading and propagating them from village to village: the novelty and boldness of his preaching every where attracting numerous hearers.

At length, having disposed of his benefice, he came to Paris; eager to preach and disseminate his religious opinions in that conspicuous theatre of action. This movement happened to coincide with the period when the rector Cope was obliged

to quit the French capital, as we have already shewn; and when the hottest persecution was excited there against the reformed. In consequence more especially, of the clamour occasioned by the sermon at the Mathurins on All-Saints' day, 1533, which Calvin is said to have dictated, measures were taken for his immediate arrest; but he eluded his pursuers, and escaped to Angoulême, as Nicolas Cope did to Basil.

The queen of Navarre, who respected Calvin and admired his talents, found means to allay the storm which had been thus raised against him. Our reformer is said for a time to have brought over to his sentiments a canon of the cathedral of Angoulême, who was nearly connected with persons high in office, and stood in the relation of brother to the bishop of Meaux. He then proceeded from place to place, both within and without the limits of the kingdom; every where leaving conspicuous traces of his doctrines and opinions. Poictiers and Nérac caressed and listened to him. At Bourges, where he had received his own first lessons, the Augustine Marlorat, together with other distinguished converts, professed his doctrines. In a certain parish of Bourges, the populace expelled from their church the Romish clergy who came to perform the usual offices, that they might at their leisure attend the ministration of Jean Michel, another zealous advocate of Cal-

vin's opinions. When this preacher suppressed the salutation to the Virgin, which had been usually recited at the end of the exordium, and substituted the Lord's Prayer in French, agreeably to the usage of the reformed; the procureur-general, who happened to be present, highly offended by such an innovation, recited aloud the Ave Maria: but the excited auditory, seizing and elevating their seats and benches, threatened him with instant destruction; and we are told he escaped with difficulty. The same Jean Michel, who had been originally a Benedictine, is said to have been the first to carry to Sancerre the seeds of the new doctrines; for which that unfortunate town nearly forty years afterwards, during the wars of the league, suffered the most cruel extremities. This preacher was at length consigned by the parliament to punishment. Calvin, who fancying himself forgotten by the lieutenant-criminel, had ventured to return to Paris, hastily quitted that place on seeing the penal fires kindled against the followers of Luther, and his own. Finding the same rigour general throughout the kingdom, he departed from France, and sought an asylum at Ferrara with the duchess Renée, wife of Ercole d'Este, and daughter of Louis XII.

This lady held in dislike the memory of pope Julius II. (who had persecuted her father,) and cherished no affection for his successors. She had

imbibed at the court of Francis I. her brother-in-law, a taste for literature, which brought with it at least a leaning towards the new opinions. She had heard both Lutherans and Calvinists. She attached herself to Marot, drew around her men of science, and gave a reception to exiled heretics. In her love of learning, and benevolence of disposition, she emulated the queen of Navarre; with whom she was yet more united by friendship than by blood. At length she declared herself openly for the new doctrines, and Calvin established his party under her patronage. Henry II. her nephew, who surpassed Francis I. in zeal against heresy, exhorted the duke of Ferrara to persecute his duchess; wishing to have her confined to her apartment, and precluded from all intercourse. After the decease of Henry II. and of the duke of Ferrara, she returned to France, and kept her court at Montargis; where her benefits, which she lavished on the sectaries most liberally, yet not exclusively, are stated to have been long visible.

Calvin, knowing his name to have been long odious in Italy, during his sojourn at Ferrara, is said to have disguised it under that of Heppeville: but his talents and doctrines failed not to betray him. The inquisition threatened him, and he returned again to France; but soon afterwards commenced a tour through Germany; in which country he appeared at several diets and conferences,

but always with an authority inferior to that of Luther; whose doctrines he modified, and whose overbearing disposition he is said to have disliked; though perhaps of a temper equally dictatorial himself. At length, desirous of a province of his own, and encouraged by the advice of Farel, and of Viret, he determined to establish himself at Geneva. This measure, adopted about the middle of the year 1536, gave to Calvinism a definitive character and consistency, distinct from Lutheranism, and proper to itself.

Religious changes had previously taken place in Switzerland, exceedingly favourable to Calvin's views. In the canton of Berne more especially, Zuinglius had made great progress, and various circumstances had contributed to his success. A notorious fraud or imposition of certain monks of Berne, no less disgraceful and atrocious than one which not long before, had been practised by the Cordeliers of Orleans, had irritated the Bernese against the whole monastic order. The advocates of the reformation easily persuaded them that such impostures were the natural result of monachism, and of the general policy of the Romish church. Zurich separated from that church in 1523, Berne in 1528, Schaffhausen in 1529. In Germany, the change of religion produced political disturbances; but at Geneva, as in the states of the north, political troubles, if they did not absolutely occasion,

yet greatly facilitated the change of religion. Geneva was desirous to be free, but her bishops sought to keep her in a state of vassalage and subjection; and we are told the counts of the Genevese had the like pretensions; but their rights, whatever their value might be, had passed over to the counts and dukes of Savoy. The bishop, John de Savoye, had moreover ceded his, to the duke Charles III; who wishing to enforce them, the Genevese implored against him the assistance of France and of Switzerland, and leagued themselves in particular with Berne, the most powerful of all the thirteen cantons. The Bernois freed Geneva from the yoke of the duke of Savoye: nor did they limit themselves to this service, but were desirous also to deliver them from that of Rome. With their soldiers therefore, they sent preachers of the reformed doctrines; and presently Zuinglianism divided the whole city. French refugees also repaired thither in great numbers; and Farel, Saunier, Viret, Froment, and Olivétan, preached there, though at first not without opposition, yet after a time with full liberty. The last mentioned, who, as we have said, was the relative and friend of Calvin, was the author of the earliest French translation of the Bible which the protestants adopted. Guillaume Farel, equally the friend of Calvin, who had been driven from Meaux for his opinions, after disseminating the new doctrines at

Grenoble, Gap, Basil, Strasburg, Metz, Montbelliard, Lausanne, Neuf-Chatel, and many other places, acquired such influence at Geneva, as to overturn the altars, and break the images of the Romish churches, in open day. He is said to have wrested from the hands of a catholic priest a statue, which he was bearing in a public procession, and to have thrown it into the river; and to have interrupted others in the streets of the city, whom he observed carrying the "viaticum" to the sick: telling them that what they bore with such an affectation of solemnity, was nothing more than bread. Catholic preachers were publicly insulted with impunity, and openly contradicted in the midst of their discourses. Such are the accounts which Catholic writers have given us; stating, as is usual, the grievances that appertain only to one side of the question. But more dispassionate narrators inform us, that these violences were mutually exercised; and that sometimes the opposite parties came to blows, and the whole city was thrown into a tumult.

The Cordeliers of the convent de la Rive proposed and published "theses;" in debating which, all persons had the liberty of saying what they pleased, the magistrates themselves presiding at these discussions, as had been the case at Zurich and Berne, to decide between the church of Rome and the reformed. A speedy consequence of such

proceedings was, that the father Bernard, warden of the Cordeliers, and an active projector and encourager of these disputations, married, and (as the catholics allege) robbed his convent to provide a dower for his wife. But a more serious effect of these measures was the formal proscription of the religion of Rome, sanctioned by the government, August 27th, 1535. The following year, the Genevese commemorated this event, by an inscription engraven on a tablet of brass, and preserved in the Hotel de la Ville.

The secular clergy and the monks now quitted the city, and the "Religieuses" de S. Claire were invited in a sermon by Farel to lay aside the veil and marry; but with the exception of one only, are said unanimously to have refused the liberty offered them. They were therefore allowed to retire to Annecy, where the duke of Savoye caused a monastery to be prepared for their reception.

The bishop of Geneva, who is stated to have abandoned the government of his church, to lead a life of ease in his domains in Franche Comté, now solicited Charles V. to reinstate him in his see: but that wary monarch's answer was, "I am "now meditating the conquest of France, and "shall think of your re-establishment afterwards." When the prelate ventured again to urge his own immediate restoration: "You make much ado," said Charles, "about the loss of a single town:

" my house has lost the whole of Switzerland, " which incontestably belonged to it, yet I say " not a single word about it." This sarcastic jest was all the bishop could then obtain: but in 1538, the pope thought fit to indemnify him by the present of a cardinal's hat. His successors persisted in assuming the empty titles of princes and bishops of Geneva, without the privilege of being recognised even as citizens. Their residence continued to be at Annecy, in the territory of the duke of Savoye.

Such was the only fruit of that duke's efforts against this city. On the occasion of this revolution we are told, it was, that the name of Huguenots was first given to the protestants. The Genevese, who leagued themselves with the Swiss against the duke of Savoye, were termed Eignots, from the German word Eidgenossen, which denotes persons allied by an oath of confederation: and as these confederates at length became protestants, the denomination Eignots or Huguenots was given first to the protestants of Geneva, and afterwards extended to those of France. Such M. Gaillard considers as the most probable etymology of the word; of which however, various other explanations have been given.

Farel, who though favourably received at Geneva when driven from Meaux, yet during the conflict of adverse parties, had been compelled to submit to

a temporary banishment from thence; having at length become the most influential minister there, engaged Calvin, as we have said, to take up his settled residence in that city. Possessing fewer of the graces of elocution, and less fluency in speaking than his friend, Calvin undertook to deliver lectures in theology from the professor's chair; and whilst Farel declaimed from the pulpit against the errors of the church of Rome, the other assailed them, with great force, by his pen; fortifying and augmenting by arguments that revolution in religious sentiments, which had been effected by the instrumentality of others. But wishing too abruptly to change some rites, of which the Genevese were yet tenacious, he was in his turn driven from Geneva, A. D. 1538; and Farel again shared the same disgrace. The latter proceeded to preach at Basil, and next at Neuf-chatel. Calvin went to exercise his ministry at Strasburg; where he espoused Idelette de Bure, the widow of an anabaptist; she having first become a convert to his own religious sentiments. By her he had an only son, who died young.

Calvin, having still a powerful party in Geneva, was again together with the other exiled ministers, recalled thither in 1540; and soon acquired that preeminence, to which his native energies prompted him to aspire. His influence eclipsed all others. He singly gave to the religion

of Geneva its definitive form, with regard both to doctrine and discipline; and was almost the absolute head or chief of that church. He possessed also great preponderance in the civil government; and ruled (says M. Gaillard) so much the more despotically at Geneva, as he appeared only the zealous vindicator of liberty.

Francis I. had aided the Genevese against the duke of Savoye, who was his political enemy. It was, as we have seen, the singular destiny of this French monarch, to be allied with the adversaries of his own religion. To complete the anomaly, those persons whom he protected at Geneva, were for the most part his own subjects; who had arranged themselves in great numbers under the banners of Calvin. This able reformer drew around himself these French refugees, and substituted them in the place of the many catholics whom the reformation had driven from Geneva. He assured them of a country and of freedom, attached them to his particular doctrines, and enriched them with the voluntary losses and sacrifices of Francis I.

To the same monarch, Calvin inscribed his *Institutiones Religionis Christianæ*, by a preface, in which he pleads with great eloquence and address the cause of the persecuted, and that of the reformation itself. "Nothing" (observes M. Gaillard) "can be more impressive, or, to use his term,

" plus séduisant," than this preface. It seems dictated by reason and humanity, and is composed after the model of the ancient apologies for the Christian religion. " Nothing," he adds, " can " be more ingenious than the use which he makes " of the fathers of the church, whether to repre- " sent their doctrines as favourable to the refor- " mation, or to vindicate that measure, where it " seems to differ from them. This book of ' In- " stitutes' has method, uniformity, and integrity: " it forms a complete body of doctrine; which is " a quality perhaps not to be found either in any " single treatise of Luther, or in the entire collec- " tion of his writings. Calvin's ' Institutes' there- " fore, is one of those works in which the re- " formation exults, not without reason." The parliament of Paris however caused it to be publicly burned, on the 14th Feb. 1543. Calvin's commentaries on the SS. are in many particulars highly judicious and excellent; they are said to have been held in great estimation by a late very distinguished prelate of our church. His polemical writings, on the one hand against the council of Trent and the catholics; and on the other against the Lutherans and the different sects of the reformation; without possessing all the merits of the " Institutes," have far more elegance and moderation than those of Luther; though Calvin did not assuredly, on all occasions, avoid that

grossness of epithet, and coarseness of expression, which are so conspicuous in the polemical writings of the age. I enlarge not upon the inconsistency between pretensions and practice, which Calvin evinced, when himself in possession of power. My purpose is neither to expose nor to excuse that spirit of intolerance and persecution, which writers both catholic and protestant have attributed to him; but which, in the preface to his own "Institutes," he deprecates. The burning of Servetus, the beheading of Perrin, a distinguished citizen of Geneva, with whom he had political or private dissensions, the unrelenting persecution of Castellio, and the imprisonment of Bolsec, both of whom had ventured to controvert his favourite doctrine of predestination; these are facts, which history has placed on record, and from the stain of which, his most ardent admirers have found it difficult to redeem his character.

The neighbourhood of Geneva, and the alliance of Francis I. with the Swiss, gave facilities to the Calvinistic preachers to enter France, and spread their doctrines there. When persecution became too violent, they again took refuge at Geneva and Berne. Calvinism soon effaced Lutheranism in France. Many of its cities and towns, preferring a native reformer to a foreign one, and sentiments which on some religious points were novel, to those which were partially antiquated, became almost

entirely Calvinistic. The parliament soon turned its zeal against this sect, which was thus universally spreading itself. Penal fires were kindled anew. Of sixty persons, who were arrested at Metz, fourteen were burned; and the rest sentenced to banishment: but as most of them continued to disseminate the obnoxious doctrines in different places, we are told that nearly all at last shared the same fate. The parliament of Bourdeaux authorized scarce fewer executions at Agen. Scaliger was called into question on the same account; and the parliament ordered the banishment of his son's preceptor, by name Philibert Sarrasin. At Sens, an advocate was consigned to the flames, on the prosecution of his uncle the archdeacon of the cathedral; who defrayed the expense of the legal process. At Tournay, a minister named Pierre Brusly being pursued by the magistrates, his friends let him down by night with a rope from the rampart, with a design to favour his escape; but a stone detaching itself from the wall broke his thigh. The guards, aroused by the cries of the sufferer, seized and brought him back; and this unfortunate person was burned at a slow fire. Another more distinguished victim of the intolerance of these times, was the well known Estienne Dolet; but of him I have subjoined a more distinct notice to the end of a former section.

The Sorbonne censured the Psalms of Marot; required a recantation from all those doctors, who had shewn favour or indulgence to the obnoxious opinions; and opposed to Calvin a formulary of faith, which that reformer did not fail to write against. Such was now the vigilance of the faculty, that they took upon them to admonish those prelates who were negligent, and found means to make their admonitions respected. The archbishop of Sens, who had under his jurisdiction six bishops, and many abbeys, yet preferred every other occupation to the care of his church, (thinking that the indulgence allowed to Du Prat, his predecessor, would not be refused to himself, as a prince of the blood,) received from the Sorbonne a severe reprehension: and they enjoined him by a written mandate, to look better after his flock, which they said his absence exposed to seduction. The cardinal de Bourbon was in like manner admonished to become resident at Sens: and it is pretended that heresy which had been gaining ground in his diocese, was dissipated by his presence; but M. Gaillard presumes this happened, because he was not a persecutor.

Many of the religious orders, we are told, Augustines, Cordeliers, Dominicans, drawn by scholastic disputations into the very notions which the schools pretended to refute, became dogmatizers, innovators, and the occasions of offence. The

Sorbonne reprimanded some, and censured others; and wrote to the General of the Augustines to look to his order and reform it; which was done. But this zeal of theirs was not always so successful; for a Cordelier, by name Pernocel, irritated by their censure, fled to Geneva, and became a minister there. Their indiscriminating violence induced them to condemn, in terms of extravagant harshness, Claude Guilliaud, a mild and gentle individual; who is said to have confounded them by the excess of his submission. They entered into a violent quarrel with Claude d'Espence, who was perhaps the most enlightened theologian of their order; accusing him of despising the saints, because he had jocosely termed the Golden Legend, "Legenda Ferrea:" though we are assured that others had ventured upon the same pleasantry, without having had their orthodoxy called into question.

The cardinal de Tournon, and the chancellor du Poyet, alternately animated the zeal of the parliament and of the Sorbonne against heresy. The first was severe, and the second harsh: so that none regretted Tournon in his retreat, or pitied Poyet in his disgrace. The king, warmed by the representations of these statesmen, is said to have compromised his own dignity, by listening to the most petty theological debates. He had heard that a certain *curé* of Paris preached against pur-

gatory, and refused to say mass. He undertook to interrogate him personally; but the man, intimidated by the royal presence, was unable to utter a word. Francis therefore dismissed him with contempt, after having enjoined him to retract.

Petrus Ramus, or de la Ramée, son of a "Char-" bonnier" of Picardy, at first a valet in the college of Navarre, but afterwards for his merit chosen principal of the collège de Presle, and a professor of the collège Royal, was a zealous cultivator of eloquence and mathematical science; but contemned Aristotle, and presumed to write against him. Antoine de Govea, a Portuguese "Perepatéticien," then established at Paris, instituted a legal process against him for this irreverence, first at the Châtelet, and afterwards before the parliament. Pleadings were opened, and the point was undergoing legal discussion; but the king took upon himself the affair, and appointed arbitrators. They decided for Aristotle, and his advocate Govea. Ramus was pronounced guilty of temerity and insolence, for having raised his voice against the prince of philosophers: his books were condemned, and he was forbidden to teach. Pierre Galand reports, that the king was inclined to send Ramus to the galleys. He afterwards became a Calvinist, (some pretend through vexation for the usage he had thus experienced;) and was ultimately comprehended in the massacre of S. Bartholemy.

We have already seen that in these interesting times, the spirit of religious innovation became manifest even within the confines of Italy itself. Lelius Socinus was a native of Sienna. Faustus Socinus was his nephew. They gave rise to an order of dissentients from the church of Rome, who mingling the rejection of the Trinitarian doctrines with their antipathy to the corruptions of the Romish church, carried the ancient "dog-" mata" of Arius to an extreme hitherto unprecedented; giving to their Christianity a complexion and character, very dissimilar from those of any of the other reformed churches. Their disciples in this doctrine were Gregorius Paulus, and Georgius Blandrata, both Piedmontese; Valentinus Gentilis, a Calabrian; Paulus Alciatus, a Milanese, and a relative of the famous jurisconsult of that name. These doctors, having by fear of the inquisition been driven from Italy, sought first to disseminate their opinions in Poland; but expelled also from thence, were for the most part induced to seek an asylum in protestant Switzerland. But even amongst the refugees from religious persecution there, the spirit of toleration had not attained that height of liberality, which might as they hoped, insure the safety of their persons, and the free propagation of their opinions. Gentilis, after encountering considerable danger at Geneva, at length perished upon the scaffold at Berne. Le-

lius Socinus narrowly escaped a like fate at Zurich; where, however, he died a natural death in 1572. Alciatus finding as it is pretended, no security in Christendom, became a Mahometan amongst the Turks. Faustus Socinus ultimately proved the instrument of diffusing Socinianism widely in Poland; where he died in 1604. I find the following recorded as the inscription upon his tomb:

> Tota jacet Babylon: destruxit tecta Lutherus,
> Muros Calvinus: sed fundamenta Socinus.

Bernardus Ochinus, who was a native of Sienna, first a Cordelier, and afterwards a Capuchin, and general of that order, quitted Italy in 1542. He was originally the friend and companion in flight of Peter Martyr; and subsequently became the president of a reformed church at Zurich; but falling into many objectionable opinions on the subject of polygamy, and on other points, he was driven from thence in 1563; retired into Poland, and afterwards into Moravia; where he died of the plague at an advanced age. But perhaps no reformer of the Italian schools was so conspicuous for learning and talents, as the person whom I have recently mentioned. The name Peter Martyr, by which he is most generally known, was merely a baptismal name. His parents were Stephanus Vermilius and Maria Fumantina, both Florentines of distinction, whose ancestors had

borne high offices in that city. At the age of sixteen, he became a member of the college of Fiesole; where he greatly distinguished himself by his studies and proficiency. He was advanced to the dignity of abbot of Spoleto; where he continued three years. From the perusal of Bucer's Commentary on the Evangelists, and that of the same scholar on the Psalms, (which appeared under the fictitious name of Aretius Felinus,) various works of Erasmus, and his own study of the sacred scriptures, he derived his first impressions in favour of the reformed opinions. This inclination was increased by the familiarity and conversation of Benedictus Cusanus, M. Antonius Flaminius, and Joannes Valdensis, a Spaniard. He next joined a society of reformed at Naples; where he openly expounded the first Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians, in a manner so offensive to the advocates of the doctrine of purgatory, that they procured an interdict upon his lectures. His next removal was to Mantua; whence he was invited to take charge of a priory and college at Lucca, where Emanuel Tremellius was professor of the Hebrew tongue. The result of his theological lectures there was such, that eighteen of the members of this college in one year forsook the church of Rome, and joined the reformed. Such a preacher could not long escape the vigilance and jealousy of the papal court and party; and Martyr found it

necessary to withdraw from the vengeance threatened against him. Departing therefore privately from Lucca, he shortly afterwards retired into Germany, and at length arrived in Switzerland. Coming to Zurich, he was kindly entertained by Bullinger, Pellicanus, Gualterus, and other distinguished persons of the same school. From Zurich he departed to Basil, and from thence to Strasburg; where, by the influence of Bucer, he was appointed divinity reader, and continued five years.

In 1547, at the instance of archbishop Cranmer and the duke of Somerset, Peter Martyr was invited by Edward VI. into England, to co-operate in the work of the reformation there. The king constituted him divinity lecturer at Oxford; where he held his celebrated disputation against Tresham and Chadsey, on the subject of the sacrament; and was promoted to the dignity of doctor, and made a canon of Christ Church. Cranmer is said to have availed himself greatly of the councils of Peter Martyr, in the business of the reformation in England; and this Italian stranger cultivated the closest intimacy with Latimer, Ridley, Poinet, and Hooper, as well as with the illustrious statesmen of the time, who favoured that important measure.

On the accession of queen Mary, he was suspended from his functions in the university; and

shortly afterwards found it expedient to quit the kingdom; which he effected not without great personal danger. Having happily arrived at Strasburg, he renewed his connexions with his ancient friends; and found a great accession of scholars, whom religious considerations had newly brought thither. Here again he resumed his divinity readings; to which he added lectures on the Aristotelic philosophy; till in consequence of the death of Pellicanus at Zurich, he was invited, and consented to succeed him there.

By this time, the persecution under Queen Mary's reign had driven many eminent divines and scholars from England; who also sought refuge at Strasburg, Zurich, Geneva, and other places, where protestantism found protection. The celebrated John (afterwards bishop) Jewel, who had formed a strict intimacy with P. Martyr in England, now became an inmate, together with him, in the house of Bullinger, at Zurich. English exiles had at this time a distinct church at Geneva; those of Italy had the like; and their church also having been deprived by death of its president, Martyr was urgently invited to supply his place in that city; but in compliance with the wishes of his friends at Zurich, declined the office. His talents in disputation having been well tried at Oxford, he was deputed to take an active part in the conference at Poissy; and his letters, which

in other respects are extremely interesting, exhibit a very detailed account of that transaction. This distinguished scholar and divine, whose history stands intimately connected with that of the reformation, at length terminated his mortal career at Zurich, in the year 1562 [a].

In digressing thus far into the history of contemporary leaders of the reformed opinions, I have at least furnished some hints towards conjecturing what were the probable gratifications of society at Geneva, and the neighbouring protestant cities, in these interesting times; when Robert Estienne, and other professional refugees like him, men, not as their successors in modern times, mere traders in literature, but themselves profoundly skilled in critical and theological learning, enjoyed friendship and intercourse with persons of such a description as some of those whom I have mentioned. As to Calvin, he continued his ministry at Geneva with increasing influence, notwithstanding the austerity of his discipline, which to the young and gay was peculiarly distasteful, till the period of his decease;

[a] The particulars of Peter Martyr's life and death are, at considerable length, recorded in a funeral oration, composed and pronounced by Josias Simlerus of Zurich, and published with an inscription to Dr. John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. It may be found translated, and subjoined to the interesting black letter translation, by Anthony Marten, of Peter Martyr's Common Places, and other works, printed at London, 1583, in fol.

which happened May 27, 1564. Even catholic writers feel themselves compelled to speak honourably both of his talents and disinterestedness; but they omit not to tell us of his atrabilarious temperament, the unrelaxing severity of his character, which was aggravated by constant bodily infirmities, and his intolerance towards all who differed in opinion from him. Finally they make no scruple in asserting, that as Luther had been in Germany, so Calvin was the occasion of all the civil feuds and atrocities, that afterwards happened in France.

CHAPTER XVI.

ROBERT ESTIENNE CONTINUED—RETIRES TO GENEVA—HIS "RESPONSIO AD CENSURAS"—OTHER TYPOGRAPHICAL OPERATIONS THERE—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—THE CHARGE OF HIS HAVING CARRIED AWAY THE ROYAL GREEK TYPES CONSIDERED.

IN the commencement of the year 1552, as we have already mentioned, it is probable that Robert Estienne removed from Paris to GENEVA: and as he expresses himself in one of his prefaces, chose for his retreat these mountains, within the friendly enclosure of which he found more humanity, simplicity, and piety, than amongst the theologians of the French capital. There he began his new typographical career by printing various theological works: viz. some detached books of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New Test. in Latin and French, 8vo. with brief summaries and expositions. He also printed *In sacra quatuor Evangelia perpetuæ Buceri Annotationes*, folio. Bearing the date of this year we moreover find, *Ad CENSURAS THEOLOGORUM PARISIENSIUM, quibus Biblia a Roberto Stephano Typographo*

Regio excusa calumniose notarunt, ejusdem Roberti Stephani RESPONSIO, *8vo. Oliva Roberti Stephani. Le méme en François,* 8vo.

The "Responsio ad Censuras," &c. which appeared as Maittaire believes, in the month of June, is one of the scarcest productions of Robert's press. As the introductory part contains a circumstantial narrative of his disputes with the divines of Paris, I have made extensive use of it in the preceding pages. As to the "Censuræ" and "Responsiones," Simon, in his "Histoire critique "du Nouveau Test." ch. 39, has entered into a minute examination of some of the most important of them; and his decisions are generally favourable to Robert. That by such a judge he should be pronounced guiltless of the most grievous charges urged against him, must be deemed a strong presumptive evidence in his favour. This learned ecclesiastic concludes his notice of the "Censuræ," in terms to the following purport: "I have spoken at considerable length on the "subject of those editions of the New Test. which "were published by Robert Estienne, because his "'Responsio ad Censuras,' &c. which he pub-"lished, first in Latin, and soon afterwards in "French [a], is become very rare." Father Simon's

[a] The French edition appeared also in 1552, and bears the following title: "Les Censures des Theologiens de Paris, par "lesquelles ils avoyent faulsement condamne les Bibles im-

work appeared Rotterod. 1693, in 4to: so that this work, which had then become so uncommon, and has never been reprinted, must now be considered as extremely rare.

Agreeably to the resolution which Robert had formed, his impressions executed at Geneva consist chiefly of theological and controversial treatises, by Calvin, Beza, and other leading persons of the reformed persuasion. From the period of his emigration, we find his original symbol or mark in the title pages of his impressions, with this subscription only: "Oliva Roberti Stephani." The local name "Geneva" is seldom added. Conradus Badius was now the occasional assistant and participator of his labours. Robert's affinity to the family of Badius is already known to the reader.

1553. His impressions of this year were, *La Bible*, fol.; *Catechisme par Jean Calvin*, 8vo;

"primées par Robert Estienne, imprimeur du Roy: avec la "response d'iceluy Robert Estienne." *Traduictes de Latin en François*, 8vo. Underneath appears the printer's family mark, viz. the "Olive," &c. with no note of place subscribed, but these words only: "L'Olivier de Robert Estienne, "M.D. LII.—*in fine:* Le XIII. de Juillet, M.D. LII." This is a finely printed book, alternately in Roman and Italic characters. It exceeds the Latin copy in rarity. During a period of more than thirty years, I was unable to procure even a sight of this French edition.

La forme des Prieres Ecclesiastiques, 8vo; *De vero verbi Dei, sacramentorum & ecclesiæ ministerio, libri II; De adulterinis sacramentis, liber unus; De adulterato baptismi sacramento & sanctorum oleorum usu; De adulterata cœna Domini; De theatrica missæ saltatione; Authore Petro Vireto,* fol.

1554. He executed the following. *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium quarto & postremo ex R. Steph. Lat. Linguæ Thesauro auctum,* 2 *tom.* fol.; *De origine, continuatione, usu, authoritate atque præstantia ministerii verbi Dei & sacramentorum, & de controversiis ea de re in Christiano orbe excitatis, ac de earum componendarum ratione: Authore Petro Vireto,* fol.; *Exposition continuelle sur les Evangiles,* fol.; *Psalmorum libri V. ad Hebr. veritatem traducti, & a Bucero enarrati; Ejusdem Commentarii in librum Judicum & in Sophoniam,* fol.; *In Genesin Commentarius Calvini,* fol.; *Francisci Hotomani Commentariorum in Orationes Ciceronis primum volumen,* fol.; *Catechismus ab Immanuele Tremellio Hebraice versus,* 8vo. These, and the greatest part of the other impressions by Robert at Geneva, now very seldom present themselves to our observation.

The same year 1554, is remarkable for the pro-

secution and punishment of Servetus. Calvin after this person's death, drew up an account of his errors, and subjoined his own refutation of them. The chief object of this measure was to exculpate himself from the odium, which was already the consequence of such an intolerant transaction. The zeal of Theodore Beza also prompted him to compose a treatise, in defence of the right of the civil magistrate to punish heretics. These two treatises, it was the lot of Robert's press to usher into light, in this same year 1554. They are thus intitled: *Defensio orthodoxæ fidei de sacra Trinitate, contra prodigiosos errores Michaelis Serveti Hispani, ubi ostenditur hæreticos jure gladii coercendos esse, & nominatim de homine hoc tam impio juste & merito sumptum Genevæ fuisse supplicium; per Johannem Calvinum*, 8vo; and, *De hæreticis a civili Magistratu puniendis libellus Theodori Bezæ*, 8vo. On this occasion Maittaire, (*Vita R. Steph.* p. 81.) cites from a work entitled *Dialogus contra libellum Calvini*, &c. a story, that Robert Estienne sent one Thomas, a servant of his, to Frankfort fair, to procure the burning of Servetus's books, and to prevent their sale and dispersion. I have met with nothing besides, which tends either to corroborate the truth, or evince the falsehood of this report. As to Servetus, the magistrates of Geneva, with Calvin's advice and concurrence, pro-

ceeded to these cruel extremities against him as in their view, an impious and deliberate blasphemer. The lords of Berne were influenced by like sentiments in their condemnation of Valentinus Gentilis; between whom and Servetus there was far from being any exact coincidence of opinions. We have however, little reason to doubt that these persons, though erring in judgment, were really as sincere in the belief which they respectively professed, and as honest in their intentions, as Calvin himself. Robert's last impression of the year 1554, I suppose to have been, *Alphabetum Græcum, cum Theodori Bezæ scholiis, in quibus de germana Græcæ linguæ pronuntiatione disserit,* 8vo. This little work, amongst other curious matter, contains specimens both of the large and small "charac-" teres regii," and of the "compendia and nexus," &c. I have seen a re-impression (if it be not the same, with a change of title only) bearing this impress, "Excudebat Paulus Stephanus," anno 1600. It is intitled, *Alphabetum Græcum & Hebraicum.* The volume contains also "Alphabetum Hebrai-" cum Cevallerii," with this inscription on its separate title, "Oliva H. Stephani, 1566."

1555. *Concordantiæ Bibliorum utriusque Testamenti,* fol. This is a Concordance of the "Bib-" lia Latina." Robert announces his intention of preparing also, and publishing a Greek concord-

ance; but of this project his decease prevented the fulfilment. So far as respected the New Testament, it was executed by his son Henry; as will be shewn in its proper place.—*De puerili Græcarum literarum doctrina liber, Lodoico Enoco authore,* 8vo; a very rare book. *Harmonia ex tribus Evangelistis composita, Matthæo, Marco, & Luca, adjuncto seorsim Johanne, quòd pauca cum aliis communia habeat, cum Calvini commentariis,* fol.; *Calvinus in Acta Apostolorum,* fol. A Latin Bible, executed by Conradus Badius for R. Steph. in this year, will be noticed (in a note) *sub annis* 1556, 1557.

1556, 1557. *In Pauli Apostoli Epistolas, atque etiam in epistolam ad Hebræos, item in canonicas Petri, Johannis, Jacobi & Judæ, Calvini Commentarii,* fol.; *Prophetæ quinque, Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, cum Thargum, id est Chaldaica Paraphrasi Jonathan, & comment. R. Selomo Jarhi, R. Abraham, Aben Ezra, & R. D. Kimhi, cum variis lectionibus,* 4to; *Hosee, cum Thargum, &c.; Liber Psalmorum Davidis, tralatio duplex, vetus, & nova Pagnini, adjectis annotationibus ex commentariis Hebræorum a Vatablo excussis,* 8vo. 1556. *cal. Jan.* 1557; *Biblia Latina*[b], *cum notis,* fol. scil.

[b] Thus indicated by Clement: "*Biblia utriusque Testamenti.*

Vetus Testamentum, 2 voll. 1556; *Nov. Testamentum*, 1556. *Cal. Mart.* 1557; *Hebr. Chald.*

" *De quorum nova interpretatione & copiosissimis in eam annota-*
" *tionibus lege quam in limine operis habes epistolam.* Oliva
" Rob. Stephani, M.D.LVII. in fol. voll. II. edition fort rare.
" M. Fabricius" (he adds) " being in the library of a very
" celebrated college," (which he does not name,) " and hav-
" ing asked a doctor of that college, which was the rarest and
" most excellent book in the library; the doctor shewed him
" this Bible, as a treasure which he held in the highest esti-
" mation." Clement acknowledges " sa beauté merveil-
" leuse;" but as it had been severely interdicted by the Sorbonne, dares not pretend to answer for its intrinsic merit. He does not consider it as the most difficult to be procured of the Bibles of R. S. but rather the contrary; allowing it to be " fort rare," but not " la plus rare." He prefers the 8vo of 1545; but laments the smallness of its character. The editions however are very different. In that of 1545, in 8vo, R. S. has added (as we have said) the text of the Bible of Zurich, to that of the Vulgate. This Geneva edition, in two columns also, has the Vulgate in the inner column, in a small character, and the new version in the exterior one, in a column much wider, and in fine large characters. The canonical books of the Old Test. are of the translation of Pagninus, revised and corrected. The apocryphal books are of the translation of Claudius Baduellus; and the New Test. exhibits Beza's translation and his notes. This Bible is enriched with various engravings. Chevillier remarks, that this is the oldest N. Test. Lat. and the earliest Latin Bible he has seen, in which the verses are distinguished by cyphers. But Clement further mentions an earlier impression, in which R. Steph. was intimately concerned, thus: " *Biblia.* R. Stephanus Lectori.
" En tibi Bibliorum Vulgata editio, in qua juxta Hebraicorum
" versuum rationem, singula capita versibus distincta sunt,
" numeris præfixis qui versuum numeris, quos in Concordan-

Gr. Lat. nomina, fol.; *Calvini Commentarius in librum Psalmorum,* fol.; *Calvinus in omnes Pauli epistolas,* fol.; *Dictionarium puerorum Latino-Gallicum, ex postrema recognitione R. Stephani,* 4to; *Dictionnaire des Mots François tournées en Latin,* 4to.

1558. *Phrases Hebraicæ,* 8vo; *Gallicæ Grammatices libellus,* 8vo; *Idem, Gallice,* 8vo; *Adagiorum chiliades quatuor, cum sesqui-centuria Erasmi, cum H. Stephani animadversionibus,* fol. This edition of that most interesting and useful work of Erasmus, his *Adagia,* containing all its author's latest improvements, and perhaps exhibiting young Henry Estienne, for the first time, in the avowed character of an editor and commentator, may now be considered as a very scarce and valuable book.

1559. In this last year of Robert's typographical labours his impressions were, *Kimhi in Habacuc, recognitus a Vatablo,* 4to; *De cœna Domini plana & perspicua tractatio, in qua Jo-*

" tiis nostris novis & integris post literas marginales A.B.C.
" D.E.F.G. addidimus, respondent, ut quærendi molestia le-
" veris, quum tibi tanquam digito quod quæris demonstra-
" bunt. Oliva Roberti Stephani, M.D.L.V: *et ad fin.* Excude-
" bat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius, anno M.D.L.V.
" *VIII. Idus Aprilis,* in 8vo."

achimi Westphali calumniæ postremum editæ refelluntur, Theodoro Beza auctore, 8vo; *Calvini commentarii in quinque libros Mosis,* fol.; *Ejusdem Institutio Christianæ Religionis, in libros quatuor nunc primum digesta, certisque capitibus distincta,* fol.; *Glossæ in tres Evangelistas, cum Calvini commentariis, adjecto seorsim Johanne,* fol.; *Harmonia ex tribus Evangelistis, adjuncto seorsim Johanne, cum Calvini commentariis,* fol.; *Le Nouveau Testament, reveu & corrigé sur le Grec par l'avis des Ministres de Geneve,* 12*mo; l'Olivier de Robert Estienne.*

We have thus seen, how many of the works of the celebrated reformer of Geneva were given to the public through Robert's press. Of Calvin's merits as a commentator on the sacred Scriptures, I have already adduced some testimonies. Mr. Bayle, on this subject, refers us to Mr. Simon; who, though in the spirit of his church he intermingles blame with the praise of such a writer, yet on the whole, pays a very high and honourable testimony to his erudition and merits. Joseph Scaliger, though a fastidious critic, both held his "Institutes" in great estimation, and pronounced him to be amongst commentators the individual one, who has most successfully developed the sense of the Prophets: "O quam Calvinus bene asse-"quitur mentem Prophetarum! nemo melius."

As to Calvin's "Institutes," the first edition, which appeared Basileæ, 1536, was little more than a sketch of the work; "operis longe maximi "rudimentum," says Beza. The author by repeatedly retouching, brought it to its ultimate degree of excellence. The second edition is said to be that of Strasburg, 1539, in fol.; Calvin being then professor of theology, and a minister there. The third, ibid. 1543, still more improved; ibid. 1544, with new augmentations. A fifth edition, Genevæ, 1550, in 4to, the title states to have been corrected in numberless places, and furnished with a double index. Maittaire speaks of an impression by Robert Estienne, *anni* 1553, which I have not found elsewhere recognised. But the author's final revision was employed upon that edition by Robert, which I have recorded under this year, 1559. M. Bayle indeed ascribes to it the date of 1558; but this may arise from the variation between the title and the conclusion.

Some writers have asserted that the *Institution Chrestienne* appeared first in the French language; viz. à Bâsle, 1535; having in its title-page the representation of a flaming sword, with these words: "Non veni mittere pacem sed gladium." Mr. Bayle acknowledges that there were at least French editions of this work before 1544, and that some of them exhibit the beforementioned emblem. It is equally certain that Calvin himself was the

author of that version: and Mr. Bayle adds, that though the French style of it is now antiquated, yet it is by no means become unintelligible: on the contrary, he knew persons of good taste who still in his time, read with pleasure [c] the translation which Calvin has given of his own work. This also is said to have received the author's last corrections in 1558; and the most valued editions of it are, that à Genève, by Conrad. Badius, in 1560, and another executed "ibidem," two years afterwards.

This year 1559, was signalized by the death of Henry II. the French king, which was occasioned by a wound received in a tournament. He was then in the forty-first year of his age, and had reigned somewhat more than twelve years.

The professional exertions of our distinguished typographer were now arrived at their final period; and he had the satisfaction of concluding them by the commencement, if not the completion, of the three last mentioned impressions, which are said to exhibit the date of 1560. In the fifty-sixth year of his age, viz. in the year 1559, *idibus Septembr.* Robert died:—rich in fame, says Thu-

[c] Bayle, in proof of Calvin's merits as a French writer, cites Pasquier, who speaks thus: "Calvin estoit homme bien escri-" vant tant en Latin que François, & auquel nostre langue " Françoise est grandement redevable pour l'avoir enrichie " d'une infinité de beaux traicts." *Recherches*, ch. 55, p. 768.

anus, abroad and at home, and in flourishing circumstances: "foris gloria dives & domi, liberis "qui manebant relicta opulenta supellectile."— Some have said that by his last will, he excluded from all share in the inheritance, such of his children as should not consent to remain at Geneva. On this ground Maittaire concludes, that his son Robert who continued to exercise the profession of a printer at Paris, was disinherited; and that Henry found his portion augmented by such a disposal of his father's effects.

Janssonius ab Almeloveen ascribes to Robert a numerous offspring: but in addition to Henry and Robert, he names only a third son, Francis; who, to distinguish him from Francis the brother of Robert, is denominated Franciscus Stephanus secundus. The sons of Henry Estienne the first, were Robert, Francis, and Charles. The two last-mentioned also distinguished themselves as typographers; and in the exercise of the same art, all the three sons of Robert became more or less conspicuous. He also left a daughter, Katherina. She was a learned woman, and had acquired the Latin language, not indeed grammatically, but by the habit of speaking it, and hearing it spoken. She was surviving in the year 1585.

Thuanus ascribes to Robert Estienne the praise of excelling in several respects, both Aldus of Venice, and Frobenius of Basil. Justly celebrated

as those artists were, he considers our typographer to have surpassed them, both in judgment and accuracy, and in technical skill and elegance. "Quos "ille longo spatio supergressus est, acri judicio, "diligentia accurata, & artis ipsius elegantia." The same historian asserts, that more real lustre and glory were reflected upon the reign of Francis I. by the genius and exertions of this single individual, than by all that monarch's achievements, whether in peace or war.

Henry Estienne, in his various prefaces, highly extols that liberality of disposition, which prompted Robert freely to dispense and communicate those literary treasures, in which his house abounded; and the generous and unsparing manner in which he expended his own wealth and domestic means, in printing and making public such works, as might tend to the furtherance of the two great objects of his ardent affections, useful learning and true religion: such only being the difference by which his sense of their relative importance was discriminated, that he was profuse in promoting the interests of the one, but lavish without measure in favour of the other: "Eam tamen librorum sa- "crorum & profanorum discrepantiam habuit, ut "pecuniam in hos quidem profunderet, in illos "autem prodigeret [d]."

[d] The *Catholica in Novum Testamentum expositio,* a work compiled by Augustinus Marloratus, and partly printed by

Whatever weight the reader may think proper to attach to Theodore Beza's testimony, I shall give it in his own words: "Ejusmodi sane fuit "Venetiis, patrum nostrorum memoria, diligens "simul & eruditus ille Aldus Manutius Romanus, "adeo quidem ut summum in hac arte gradum "assecutus videretur. Ejus vestigia Basileæ præ-"sertim & Joannes Frobenius & alii aliquot se-"cuti sunt, quibus res literaria plurimum debet. "Sed quanto illi cæteros antecelluerunt, tanto "majorem tibi Roberte Stephane, superiores omnes "longe lateque supergresso, gloriam tribuendam "esse, vel ipsa fremens Invidia confitetur. Nam "ut alii tecum nonnulli de librorum quorundam "excusorum elegantia & venustate certent, nemo "tamen vel in operosissimis libris tecum in emen-"dationis fide ac diligentia fuerit comparandus. "Tibi linguam Hebraicam magnopere illustratam, "tibi Græcorum characterum summam elegan-

Robert, but suspended by his death, was afterwards brought to a conclusion by Henry; who, in a prefatory epistle to the volume, thus notices the then recent event of his father's decease: "O mortem, morienti quidem si annos spectes, matu-"ram, at superstitibus literarum studiosis præmaturam! O "mortem, spes eximias intercipientem! O mortem, tribus lin-"guis & tribus trium linguarum scriptoribus magnam jactu-"ram afferentem! O typographi mortem, arti typographicæ "exitium minitantem! O mortem denique, multis damnis & "cladibus fœtam!"—Cited by Maittaire, *Vita Henrici Secundi*, p. 255.

" tiam : tibi partim in lucem revocatos, partim fœ-
" licissime restitutos, tum Græcos tum Latinos
" scriptores plurimos : tibi denique infinita qua-
" dam industria & inexhaustis laboribus ex om-
" nium classicorum authorum penu depromptum
" Latinæ Linguæ Thesaurum debemus. Sed hæc
" tua præcipua laus est, quòd non inanis gloriæ,
" non lucri cupidus, officinam tuam sacris præser-
" tim excudendis Bibliis consecrasti, quo in opere
" toties recudendo, emendando, modisque omnibus
" illustrando, teipsum quoque superasti [e]." Beza, in some verses cited by Maittaire, (*Vita R. Steph.* p. 93.) maintains the same strain of eulogy :

Celui qui d'un sainct œil son Eglise environne,
Estienne, t'enrichit de tant d'heurs & d'honneurs,
Que la gloire tu fus de tous les Imprimeurs,
Et de ton noble estat la tres belle couronne.
Outre plus le grand Dieu de tant de graces t'orne,
Qu'à Paris tu logeas les Muses sainctes sœurs,
De l'Hebrieu, du Latin, & du Grec les douceurs
Au François ignorant ta saincte adresse donne.
Ce nonobstant la France ingrate te chassa.
Ton ame sur les cieux à la fin se haussa ;
Les Muses ont pleuré ton importun absence :
Les biens, qu'aux Imprimeurs en ta vie tu fis,
Les scandals, es quels nos François sont confits,
Nous font souventefois desirer ta presence.

Scævola Sammarthanus denominates Robert Estienne, " Typographus solertissimus & splendidis-
" simus ;" and says his *Thesaurus Latinæ Lin-*

[e] Bezæ Icones, &c. Genevæ, 1580, 4to.

guæ would alone suffice to intitle him to immortal reputation. Not to multiply testimonies of the same kind, Gesner inscribed to him the fifth book of his Pandects; and, as cited by La Caille, terms him "entre les Imprimeurs & Libraires ce qu'est "le soleil entre les etoiles."

The acknowledged personal erudition of this remarkable typographer, his extraordinary professional exertions, the zeal he constantly evinced both for the advancement of classical and oriental learning, sound theology, and science in general, as well as the circumstances which gave rise to his persecution and expatriation, will, I trust, justify the comparatively greater minuteness with which I have endeavoured to trace his history and labours, than those of any of the preceding Parisian printers. But though my account of him has already been thus disproportionately extended, I must not close it without some notice of a charge of dishonesty, first brought against him by one or two writers of a remoter age, and since repeated by a few scholars of recent times, probably on little or no examination of the evidence on which it has been founded.

The charge I allude to is this: that Robert Estienne, on the occasion of his emigration or flight to Geneva, carried with him surreptitiously and fraudulently, certain IMPLEMENTS of the ROYAL FOUNDERY, instituted by Francis I, which had

been entrusted to his care. Both Janssonius ab Almeloveen and Maittaire consider this as an absolute calumny, and respectively enter into a long and indignant refutation of it. The former asserts, that the Jesuit Possevinus (in "Apparatu "sacro," p. 597.) was the author of the charge; and adds, that it is suspended upon another, equally unfounded; namely, that Vatablus, having called Robert to an account, for affixing his name falsely to the notes on the New Testament, this printer, rather than await the issue of a process instituted against him, fled to Geneva, "surreptis secum "characteribus regiis," &c.

Moreri has implicitly copied this narrative. Chevillier wrote subsequently to Almeloveen. I shall state what he says on this subject. "Les Eti- "ennes se servirent pour leurs éditions de ces "belles lettres, qui furent fonduës dans les ma- "trices que le Roi François I. avoit fait frapper "par une magnificence royale. Robert Etienne, son "imprimeur, avoit ces matrices; & des mains de "son fils Henri, elles passerent dans celles de son "petit-fils Paul Etienne. Celui-ci les vendit ou "engagea à la Seigneurie de Géneve pour une "somme de mille écus. Le clergé de France, ayant "entrepris de faire imprimer les Ouvrages des "saints Pères Grecs, presenta sa requeste au Roi "Louis XIII, & demanda que ces matrices fussent "retirées, & apportées dans l'université de Paris.

" *Auquel effet,* disent les agens du clergé dans " cette requeste, *quelques etrangers ont depuis* " *peu acheté de Paul Etienne pour le prix &* " *somme de trois mille liv. les matrices Grecques,* " *que le feu Roi François I. avoit fait tailler* " *pour ornement de ses universitez, & commodité* " *des lettres avec tant de frais,* &c. Sur cette " requeste le Roi rendit son arrest, datté du 27 " May 1619, qui est rapporté à la page 131, du " 2 tome des Actes du Clergé de France recueillis " par M. Gentil; ou il ordonne, qu'on payera de " ses deniers la somme de trois mille livres, pour " dégager ces matrices Grecques. *Le Roi a or-* " *donné & ordonne que.... il seras pris & em-* " *ployé la somme de trois mille livres pour retirer* " *lesdites matrices des mains de la Seigneurie de* " *Géneve, ou dudit Etienne, &c.* Cette piece fait " voir que Jansson d'Almeloüe a travaillé inutile- " ment, quand il a voulu prouver que Robert Eti- " enne n'avoit point emporté avec lui à Géneve, les " matrices Grecques de l'Imprimerie Royale. *Ni-* " *hil enim ego crediderim absurdius, magisque* " *absonum, &c.* Le Roi auroit donc été trompé, " & son argent auroit été porté a Géneve pour " retirer des matrices, qui n'étoient point sor- " ties de Paris." (*Origine de l'Impr.* pp. 259, 260.)

Now it is worthy of remark, that Chevillier avoids the express charge of dishonesty in this

transaction [e]. But if Robert had acted fraudulently, let it not be supposed that a doctor of the Sorbonne would not have made the most of such an imputation. Neither the "Arret," for the redemption of these "matrices," nor the French bibliographers, or other credible writers, who mention the circumstance, ground upon it any reflection against the morals or probity of our distinguished printer: Chevillier, on the contrary, would give both to Robert and his son Henry, "la louange entière & sans aucune reserve," if they had not relinquished the catholic religion to embrace protestantism. He asserts that the answer of Robert to the "Censuræ" of the faculty, fully proves that they had not falsely or mistakenly imputed to him a spirit of error and heresy. The work, he says, proves that he had in fact deceived two monarchs, who had inadvertently chosen an outrageous Calvinist for their "Imprimeur." With this single exception, he

[e] Peignot (Dictionnaire raisonné de Bibliologie, Par. 1802.) has made the like observation: "On a accusé Robert d'avoir "volé et emporté de Paris à Géneve les caracteres Grecs de "l'Imprimerie royale. Ce ne point les caracteres, mais les "matrices de ces caracteres. Elles tombèrent par la suite "à Paul Etienne, son petit fils, qui les vendit ou engagea à la "Seigneurie de Géneve pour la somme de mille écus. Ce-"pendant dans l'arrêt du conseil d'état rendu le 27 Mai "1619, sur les remontrances du clergé de France qui les re-"clame, Louis XIII. ne fait point mention ni de vol, ni d'au-"cune terme qui en approche."

would render to Robert all the glory which is due to his merits. "But if France be under great ob- "ligations to him for having carried the art of "printing to its utmost perfection, she owed him "no gratitude for having abused that fine art by "printing the pestilential works of Calvin, Beza, "Viret, Bucer, and other sectaries: the perusal of "which poisoned men's minds, inspired them with "frenzy, and drove them to the dreadful extremity "of civil war," &c. Such is the worst charge, and the only one indeed, on which Chevillier takes his ground, in detracting from the praises of Robert.

That he did however convey from Paris to Geneva, certain "poinçons," or "matrices," (for I shall hereafter shew the variations respecting these particulars,) is a fact which evidently must be admitted. With what understanding these implements were permitted to remain in this printer's hands, is a question which now perhaps, can never be satisfactorily elucidated. I shall content myself with observing that,

1. Robert's departure was confessedly a clandestine one. To have returned these deposits (for such I shall consider them) to their legal custody, must have betrayed the secret of his intended removal, and exposed him to all the perilous consequences of such a discovery. To leave them behind, a prey to depredators, or to the disposal of chance, was a measure totally inconsistent with

prudence, and with the regard which was due to articles of such value.

2. Our past inquiries have shewn it more than probable, that the royal treasury was greatly in arrear to Robert, not merely for the king's promised remuneration of his losses, which the malevolence of the divines had intercepted, but also for the stipend due to him as "regius typographus." How far he might be justified in retaining these articles as a pledge, I leave to the consideration of others.

3. So entirely groundless is that extraordinary remark of Michaelis, which I have before noticed, that Robert was "burned in effigy," for carrying away these articles, that the removal of them does not appear to have excited any sensation whatsoever, either at the time of our printer's departure, or at any period speedily subsequent to that event. We do not hear of any impediment occasioned by the want of them, through the operations of a long series of "Impressores Regii," who were Robert's successors in that office, till the time when these "matrices" were reclaimed [f].

[f] By a recent acquisition of the "Mémoires" of Niceron, I am enabled to add his testimony or opinion on the subject of Robert's pretended theft. ... "Ce qui détruit entierement "cette accusation intentée contre Robert Estienne, c'est que "ses ennemis n'en ont jamais fait la moindre mention, qu'il "n'en a jamais été question qu'après un silence de 68 années, "& que Robert Estienne & ses enfans qui ont demeuré à Ge-

Maittaire, strangely omitting to distinguish between the charge brought against Robert by Possevin, and that sanctioned by Chevillier, (the former having accused him of carrying away the royal Greek characters themselves, the latter the matrices or moulds only,) thinks he can vindicate our printer from an accusation which he deems most atrocious, in no other way, than by denying or doubting the fact that he and his family ever used these royal characters at all, after their removal to Geneva. "Si Robertus regios typos se-"cum Genevam asportasset, velim mihi ostendi li-"brum, in quo excudendo Robertus ipse, Henricus, "aut Paulus Genevæ iis typis usi fuerint." (*Vit. R. Steph.* p. 135.) But surely, if Robert had with him such moulds, and thus possessed the means of multiplying these types at pleasure, he would not suffer them to lie useless, and provide himself with a different apparatus. His press indeed at Geneva does not appear to have been employed upon any extensive Greek impressions, but

"neve, ne se sont jamais servi de caracteres fondus dans ces "matrices." (This last assertion or opinion I shall shew to be very disputable.) "Ce ne fut donc point pour ce prétendu "vol, que Robert Estienne fut brûlé en effigie, s'il le fut, "comme Beze en demeure d'accord dans son *Passavant* & ses "*Icones*. Ce fut parce que la coutume étoit alors de brû-"ler les Hérétiques; & qu'Estienne soubçonné auparavant "d'hérésie, en étoit devenu convaincu manifestement par sa "fuite." *Mém.* tom. XXXVI. p. 250.

" ex proposito," chiefly on Latin theological works. One small volume however, there is, which, by Maittaire's own acknowledgment, he executed at Geneva, *anno* 1554, viz. " Alphabetum Græcum," &c. in 8vo.; which actually exhibits specimens of the royal Greek characters in all their three varieties: and to silence all doubt, they are expressly exhibited in this work as the " characteres regii " quibus Novum D. N. Jesu Christi Testamen- " tum ... excudit R. Stephanus." Even the admired edition of the " N. Test. Græce," in 12mo. which issued " e typographia Joannis Crispini," *Genevæ, anno* 1553 [g], and in beauty of execution

[g] According to M. Bayle, Crispinus who was of the country of Artois, and originally a civilian, settled at Geneva as a refugee on account of his religion, so early as 1548. He at length established a press there, and became a distinguished printer. Bayle asserts that Crispinus died of the plague, *anno* 1572. This exquisitely beautiful Gr. Test of 1553, has a Latin preface by Crispinus; and his name appears in the title as the actual printer of the volume. But Bayle also remarks, that Crispinus sometimes employed Conrad. Badius to print for him; and Conrad. Badius is known to have been the companion in exile of Robert Estienne, and the associate of his typographical labours at Geneva.

From an inspection of many of those Greek works which were printed by learned typographers at Paris, subsequently to the introduction of the Greek characters of Francis I, it appears probable that several of those who were not dignified with the titles of " Typographi Regii," were yet allowed to furnish their establishments with casts of type of the king's Greek. Thus Maittaire himself (*Annales Typographici,*)

confessedly rivals the "O mirificam," and other finest impressions by Robert, will I believe on minute comparison be found unquestionably to exhibit those very minuter "characteres regii," with which the "O mirificam" was executed, omitting only in a great measure the "nexus & abbrevia-
"tiones." But in the subsequent impressions executed by Henry and Paul Estienne, I mean more particularly those which really prove themselves to have been executed at Geneva, what convincing variations (it may be asked) in the form of the

speaking of the Wechels, bids us compare the Greek characters used by Christian and Andrew Wechel, *ad ann.* 1560; and it will he says, appear how far the later surpass the former. Indeed, he adds, they fall nothing short of the most elegant types used by the Estiennes, and other principal printers. Andrew Wechel, in 1573, retired from Paris to Frankfort, from motives similar to those which occasioned Robert Estienne's emigration; for he also had embraced the reformed opinions. The Greek impressions of the Wechels at Frankfort, evidently exhibit the royal Greek characters of Francis I. Let the reader for instance examine the fine "Dionysius "Halicarnasseus," edited by Sylburgius, and printed *Francofurti ap. hæredes Andr. Wecheli,* 1586, fol. or the "Romanæ "Historiæ Scriptores Græci minores," 1590, fol. by the same editor and from the same press. I believe these volumes (in beauty of execution scarce inferior to any of the most elegant later impressions of the Estiennes) will be found evidently to exhibit their well known Greek characters: the identity of which at this early period, is not sufficiently accounted for, by those who affirm that the greatest part of the printing apparatus of the Estiennes ultimately passed into their hands. (*Vide Baillet, Jugemens, &c. Art. Wechel.*)

characters are met with, to distinguish them from those of the royal "Imprimerie?" Do we not equally recognise the same elegant types of the Estiennes, though deteriorated in appearance in some volumes by long use, or more obviously so, from their frequently having used at Geneva a coarser and much inferior paper?

M. de Guignes, in his Historical Essay on the origin of the Oriental and Greek characters of Francis I. has been perhaps one of the latest writers, who have alluded to the subject which so importantly affects the character of Robert Estienne. As he evidently relies on the authority of Chevillier, so like him and others, he avoids all charge of dishonesty. I shall for the reader's satisfaction, cite his words. "Francis I. persuaded "that a work so well executed (the apparatus of "the Greek characters by Garamont) ought not "to be trusted in the hands of printers, caused all "the punches (poinçons) of the three fonts to be "deposited in the chamber of accounts, in boxes "ornamented with velvet. As to the matrices, "which were often wanted to cast new types, "Robert Etienne had them in his custody: and "it appears that they remained afterwards in his "family; since Paul Etienne, grandson of Robert, "and son of Henry Etienne, *sold* them at Geneva "for one thousand crowns. Under the reign of "Lewis XIII. the clergy, who proposed to under-

" take an edition of the Greek fathers, presented " a petition to that prince, and requested that " the Greek matrices might be repurchased, and " brought to the university of Paris. For which " purpose (say the agents of the clergy in this " petition) some strangers, a short time since, " purchased of Paul Etienne, for the price and " sum of three thousand livres, the Greek ma- " trices, which the late king Francis I. had caused " to be engraved for an ornament to his univer- " sities, and for the benefit of letters, at so large " an expence, &c. The king, in consequence, is- " sued an arrêt of the 27th of May, 1619, reported " in the acts of the clergy; wherein he directs that " there shall be paid out of his privy purse, the " sum of three thousand livres to redeem them. " This was executed: the matrices were brought " back to France, and put into the hands of the " director of the royal printing-house, where they " remained until 1691." *Extracts of MSS. &c. Vol.* I. p. 97. *English Translation, Lond.* 1789. 8vo.

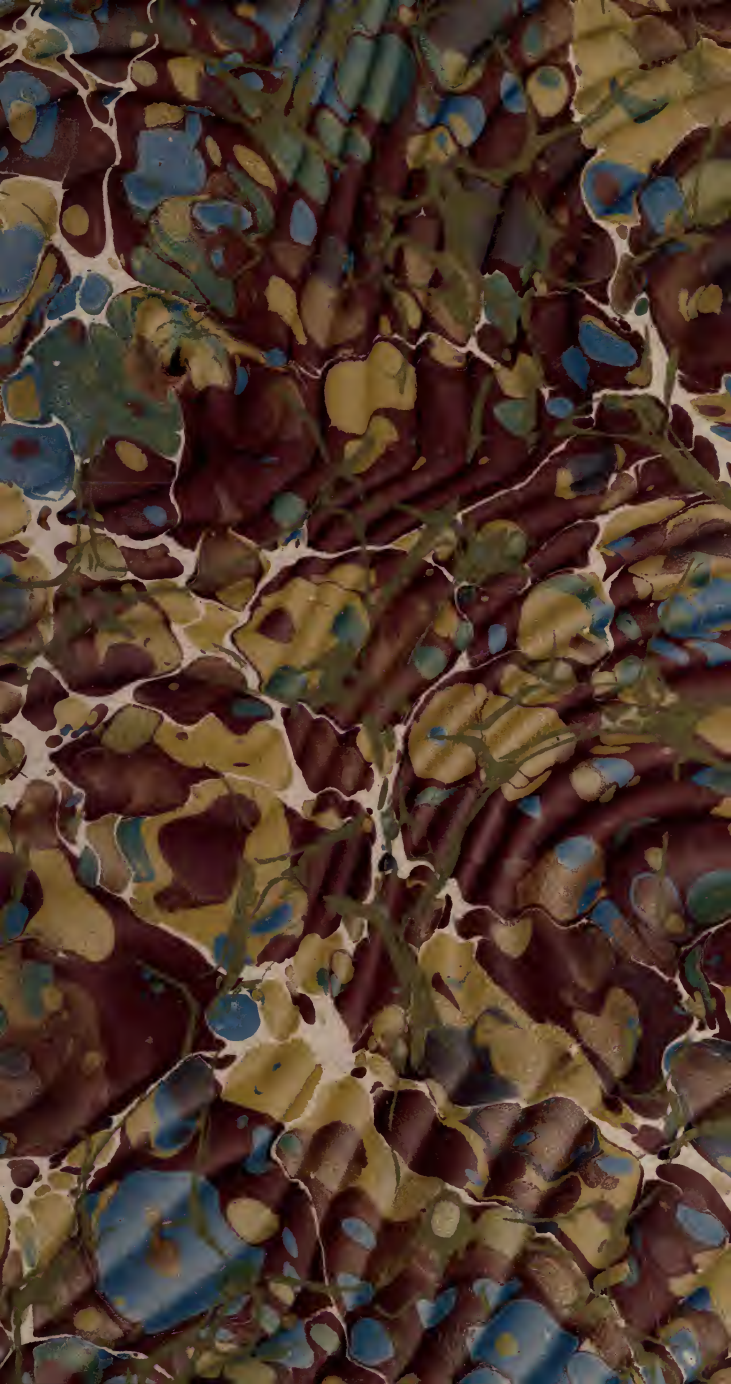
Such are the ostensibly official documents, by which Chevillier and M. de Guignes seem to corroborate their account of this transaction. I have however met with a passage in the *Bibliothèque Choisie* of M. le Clerc, tom. XIX. p. 219, seqq. in which it is related with extraordinary variations. This journalist, in reviewing the *Epistolæ Isaaci*

Casauboni, (*Rotterod.* 1709, fol.) takes occasion to say, that Robert Estienne, on retiring from Paris to Geneva, carried with him the punches (he says not "les matrices," but "les poinçons des matrices") of the fine Greek characters of Francis I.; that though Robert brought to Geneva considerable property, which might have been augmented by his son Henry, if he had been a prudent man; yet the latter having both been improvident, and by the circumstances of his last illness prevented from settling his worldly affairs, the great wealth acquired by Robert was almost entirely dissipated. Henry Estienne (he adds) was an intimate friend of Nicolas le Clerc; (the grandfather of this journalist;) and to *him*, he assures us, the abovementioned poinçons were pledged, for the sum of four hundred gold crowns. This (as the narrative of Le Clerc evidently implies) was not the act of Paul, but of Henry: and (it is added) after the decease of the latter, Henry IV. of France, having accidentally heard that these implements were at Geneva, sent to demand them from the council of that city, as articles which had not belonged to Robert Estienne, but were the property of the crown of France. He however, to whom they had been pledged, urged his claim to be repaid the money which he had advanced upon them. The council decided that this money must be required from the heirs

of Henry Estienne. Florence Estienne, who was Henry's daughter, and the wife of Isaac Casaubon, being then at Geneva, was under the circumstances of the case held responsible for the fulfilment of this order of the council, (to which Casaubon is stated actually to allude in one of his epistles, complaining of it as cruel and unjust.) He also adds, that his wife Florence Estienne could have sold these poinçons in England for the sum of five hundred gold crowns; evidently intending to imply that she had a right to do so. The result, Le Clerc states to have been, that the council of Geneva sent back to France the poinçons, and that his grandfather received only two hundred crowns; not having ever been able to obtain either from the government of Geneva, or from the heirs of Henry, then probably in very narrow circumstances, any further reimbursement. The particulars of this affair, M. le Clerc says, he had often heard mentioned by his own father.

Leaving my reader at length to draw his own conclusions from these disagreeing premises, I shall conclude with mentioning, on the authority of M. de Guignes' essay before cited, a fact, which by some may be deemed interesting; namely, that in the year 1700, the university of Cambridge requested of the French government to be favoured with a cast or fount of those fine characters of Francis I. known by the name of the "King's

" Greek." To this the French academy, to whom the matter was referred, was willing to consent, on this condition, that in all works printed with the Greek characters of Francis I. at the bottom of the title-page, after the usual subscription, " Typis Academicis," these words should be added, " characteribus Græcis e Typographeo regio " Parisiensi." But to this stipulation the curators of the Cambridge university press were not willing to consent; and consequently the negotiation proved ineffectual.

END OF VOL. I.

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